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JAMES GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK
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1897

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GREAT COMMANDERS

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PREFACE.

In preparing the twelfth volume of the Great Commander Series the present writer has endeavored to describe its subject with candor and fidelity, stating facts only on what appeared to be good authority, and avoiding all exaggeration. It was his privilege to have made General Grant's acquaintance at Cairo, Ill., in the summer of 1861, to have served under him at Vicksburg and elsewhere, and to have continued the always pleasant intercourse with him for a period of a quarter of a century, lacking but a single year.

The series of letters sent during the war by the great commander to his faithful friend, the Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, included in this volume, are perhaps of greater historical value than any others of that time of which the writer has knowledge. They refer to such famous battlefields as Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Iuka, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and the Wilderness. To the courtesy of Mr. Hempstead Washburne the author is in-

debted for these very interesting memorials of the illustrious soldier, and the civil war episodes in which he bore so prominent a part. In this volume will also be found communications of great interest from Grant's surviving classmates and several comrades, of the United States Military Academy.

To his friend Colonel Frederick D. Grant the present biographer is particularly indebted for indorsing all the statements of facts contained in this volume, but not, of course, the opinions expressed, and for his courtesy in permitting the use of his father's appointment as lieutenant general, signed by President Lincoln, to appear in this work in facsimile for the first time. The author of the volume also desires to acknowledge his obligations to General Augustus L. Chetlain, who commanded the Galena company which Grant accompanied to Springfield, the capital of Illinois, April 23, 1861.

NEW YORK, *April 27, 1897.*

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GENERAL GRANT.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.—BIRTH.—BOYHOOD.

MATTHEW GRANT, believed to have been a Scotchman, is the earliest ancestor of the subject of this biography of whom anything is known with certainty. Since the death of the great commander, the discovery of the record of a marriage at St. Mary-le-Strand, London, March 25, 1609, of Matthew Grant and Susan Shewers, leads to the supposition that the emigrant might have been from London, and that this marriage may have been the second marriage of his father. When a friend asked the general, a few months before his final departure from his New York home concerning the seventeenth-century emigrant to the New World, he replied: "I do not know to whom Matthew Grant was related, or by whom begot. His nationality never interested me, and I am uncertain whether he was a native of England or Scotland. The name would indicate that my grandfather, Captain Noah Grant, was probably correct in stating that we were of Scottish extraction. I am, however, perfectly satisfied with being an American, through and through, with

seven generations of honest American ancestors." * The inquiry of Carlyle concerning the ancestry of Cromwell may with equal accuracy be applied to Grant: "Are many king's sons so well born?" and have they, like the American commander, inherited from many generations of strong, God-fearing men, a sound body and good moral character?

Matthew Grant and his wife Priscilla, each aged twenty-nine years, and an infant daughter, also named Priscilla, embarked in the Mary and John, from Plymouth, with a party of one hundred and forty persons, including their pastors, Maverick and Warham, who had been chiefly gathered from Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, in the southwest of England. They had a prosperous voyage of seventy days, landing at Nantasket, May

---

* In his Personal Memoirs the general remarks: "My family is American, and has been for generations in all its branches direct and collateral." The direct line of descent of General Grant from Matthew Grant, of Windsor, Conn., is as follows:

1. Matthew and Priscilla (——) Grant, m. 1625.
2. Samuel and Mary (Porter) Grant, m. 1658.
3. Samuel and Grace (Miner) Grant, m. 1688.
4. Noah and Martha (Huntington) Grant, m. 1717.
5. Noah and Susannah (Delano) Grant, m. 1746.
6. Noah and Rachel (Kelly) Grant, m. 1791.
7. Jesse Root and Hannah (Simpson) Grant, m. 1821.
8. Ulysses Simpson Grant, born April 27, 1822.

It was perhaps owing to this uncertainty in regard to his remote progenitors, combined with his feeling of pride in his long line of American ancestors, that induced the general to decline to add his name to the list of several thousand Grants who in 1872 signed an address of congratulation to the head of the clan, although the request came from the late Field-Marshal Grant, with whom the general became acquainted five years later.

30, 1630, the day after Charles II was born. "So we came," wrote Roger Clapp, who was one of the company, "by the hand of God through the deeps comfortably, having preaching or expounding of the Word of God every day for ten weeks together by our ministers." Edward Everett, in an oration delivered July 4, 1855, in his native town of Dorchester, said of these early emigrants: "There was a large body of 'West Country' or 'Dorchester men' in Governor Winthrop's expedition, who were many of them of Mr. White's * church, and all were enlisted, so to say, under his auspices and encouragement, and they were the first in the field. Early in March, 1630, they were ready to depart, and a large vessel was chartered at Plymouth for their separate conveyance. The faithful pastor, guide at once in things divine and human—which in that age of trial ran strangely together, as in what age do they not?—went with them to their port of embarkation, met with them in the new hospital of Plymouth, where they gathered themselves into a Church under the ministers of his selection, held with them a solemn fast of preparation, and preached to them the last sermon they were to hear from his lips."

After a careful examination of the coast, the newcomers established themselves on a neck of land called by the Indians Mattapan, which they named after the town that Matthew Grant and many of his associates had left in England—Dor-

* Rev. John White, for two-score years pastor in Dorchester, a large town in the southwest of England.

chester, now South Boston. Roger Clapp writes: "The place was a wilderness. Fish was a good help to me and to others. Bread was so scarce that I thought the very crusts from my father's table would have been sweet; and when I could have meat and salt and water boiled together, I asked, 'Who would ask for better?'" Again he says: "In our beginnings, many were in great straits for want of provisions for themselves and little ones. Oh, the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied only by clams, mussels, and fish!" Nevertheless the new settlement prospered, and in three years it was styled "the greatest town in New England." It set the example in 1633 of that municipal organization which has since prevailed there, and has proved one of the chief sources of its progress. The Minot House is still standing in Dorchester which was built in that year, and is believed to be the oldest wooden habitation in the United States, the frame of which, after the custom of that day, Matthew Grant doubtless assisted in raising.

In the autumn of 1635 a number of the inhabitants of Dorchester decided to remove with their families to Connecticut. The new settlement was also named Dorchester, but two years later was changed to Windsor. Matthew Grant was of the Connecticut party, and was immediately chosen surveyor, being annually elected to that office during a quarter of a century. Mrs. Grant died in 1644, and in the following year the widower married Susannah Rockwell, who, with her husband William Rockwell, had been fellow-passengers from Eng-

Ancient Grant Homestead, 1697–1897, East Windsor Hill, Connecticut.

land with the Grants. In 1652 he became town clerk. "Few men," says Stiles, "filled so large a place in the early history of Windsor, or filled it so well as honest Matthew Grant. His name figures in almost every place of trust, and the early records show that the duties were always conscientiously performed." His second son, Samuel, was born in Dorchester in 1631, and in 1658 he married Mary Porter, afterward receiving from his father about one hundred acres on the east side of the river, and erecting their house on an eminence near the East Windsor Theological Institute. The ancient church record speaks of it, in 1675, as being the only place in the meadow that was not covered with water in the great floods of 1638–'39. Samuel's grandson, Captain Noah Grant, served in the French War, and was killed in battle near Fort William Henry, New York, September 30, 1756. The house at East Windsor where his father of the same name was born in 1693 is still standing, but has been greatly enlarged by his descendants, in whose possession about fifty acres of the property purchased in 1674 still remains.* Another Noah Grant, sixth in descent from Matthew, served through the Revolutionary War. His wife having died, Captain Grant, with many of his neighbors, removed after

* The Grant homestead, now owned and occupied by Roswell Grant, was for two years during the Revolutionary War the place of confinement of William Franklin, the Loyalist Governor of New Jersey, also of General Richard Prescott and many other British officers. The land was purchased by his ancestor, Matthew, from the Connecticut Indians, and no white men but Grants have ever possessed it.

the war to Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where he soon after married again. The first fruit of this marriage was Jesse Root Grant, born in the year 1797. Two years later the Grants, following the westward tide of emigration, removed to Ohio, settling in what is known as the town of Deerfield. Mrs. Grant died in 1805, and the family circle was broken, the lad being received in the family of Judge George Tod, father of the late Governor David Tod, of Ohio. When old enough, he was apprenticed to his brother Peter to learn the tanner's trade, and soon after reaching his majority engaged in business for himself, conducting a tannery first at Ravenna, Ohio, and later at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, in the same State.

In Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, there had dwelt for several generations a family named Simpson, of Scottish descent. John Simpson, a member of this family, removed in 1819 to Ohio, settling with his son and three daughters in Clermont County. When his third child, Hannah, and Grant, the young tanner, met a mutual attachment was formed, and their marriage soon followed in June, 1821. Their first child, born April 27, 1822, is the subject of this biography.* The name by which General Grant is known in history is not

* It has recently been stated that William Simpson, who came to this country between 1748 and 1750, was also the ancestor of Jefferson Davis, one of his granddaughters, called Ann, having married the grandfather of the Southern President, and another being the wife, as stated, of Jesse R. Grant, so that Davis and the general were, if the statement is authentic, second cousins, their grandmothers having been sisters.

that given to him in baptism. Various names were suggested, among others Hiram being proposed by the child's grandfather and Ulysses by his grandmother, who entertained a great admiration for the character of the warrior-traveler. At length a compromise was arranged, and the child was christened Hiram Ulysses. Fate, however, decreed that he should bear the initials of his country, U. S., for the member of Congress who, seventeen years later, appointed him a cadet to the United States Military Academy sent in his name as Ulysses S. Grant, and the lad, after vainly endeavoring to have the error corrected by the West Point authorities, submitted to the inevitable, and ever after leaving the academy always signed himself U. S. Grant.

The scene of his birth was one of those humble pioneer dwellings still to be seen on the banks of the Ohio, sheltered from the summer sun by protecting trees, this particular structure being a double single-story cottage standing where the river makes one of its magnificent sweeps around a projecting point, and then widens in its straight course below until it appears almost like an inland lake. This frame house in which General Grant was born was erected by his father nearly fourscore years ago, and in 1888 was removed from Clermont County to the State Fair Grounds at Columbus. A building to inclose and protect it was with the relic dedicated on September 3, 1896, by the Governor of Ohio, and Henry T. Chittenden, who presented it to the State, made an appropriate address on the interesting occasion. The next year (1823) the family removed to Georgetown, in an adjoin-

ing county, where the childhood and youth of the lad were spent. After he became famous as a great commander many incidents of this early period were recalled, illustrating his courage and tenacity of purpose. He seems, like Admiral Nelson, never to have known the quality of fear. When but three year of age his father, walking with him through the village on the Fourth of July, met a neighbor, who proposed that the child should share in the celebration by pulling the trigger of a pistol which he placed in his little hand. It exploded with a loud report, but the boy, instead of being frightened, asked that the weapon be reloaded that he might fire it again.

Ulysses, or Lys, as he was called in the household and among his comrades, loved horses, and at the early age of eight was employed in drawing firewood for the house and shop from a distant part of the farm. When he was twelve years of age his father was awarded the contract for building the Brown County Jail, which, like most of the Western jails and courthouses of that day, was to be built of heavy logs about fourteen feet long. The youth volunteered to drive the pair of horses until the logs were all delivered at the appointed place. A few days afterward Mr. Grant discovered that Ulysses was loading them alone, and on inquiry learned his ingenious method of procedure. A large tree which had been cut down lay aslant, one end being on the ground and the other elevated. Up its trunk the lad drew the logs until their ends projected far enough over to allow of his backing the wagon underneath them. When this was done, he attached a long chain extending over the wagon box, and

with his powerful pair of horses drew them one after another into the wagon.

To about the same period belongs an incident related by Lincoln to the author, who accompanied the President to the theater a few weeks before he met his end there. "A circus came to the town where the Grants lived," said Lincoln, "one of the attractions of which was a mule that had been trained to throw his rider. A silver dollar was offered by the manager to any one who would ride the animal once around the ring. Several applicants for the dollar tried, but were all thrown. At length a sturdy little fellow stepped into the ring and said that he would like to try that mule. The boy held on bravely until almost around the circle, when he was thrown over the animal's head as the others had been. Jumping to his feet and throwing off his coat and hat, he exclaimed, 'I would like to try that mule again!' This time he faced the crupper, coiled his legs around the animal's body, and seized hold of his tail. Amid the cheers of the audience the mule exhausted all his efforts to unseat his rider, but in vain, and the lad gained his dollar. That boy was Ulysses S. Grant, and just so," added Lincoln, "he will hold on to General Lee." Six days later came the surrender at Appomattox Court-house of Lee and his army!

Among Grant's youthful companions was Daniel Ammen, two years his senior, who also in later life achieved distinction as one of the famous Farragut's lieutenants. In a recent work * the admiral

* The Old Navy and the New, Philadelphia, 1891.

gives an account of a fishing excursion, during which he had the good fortune to save the future commander's life. The stream was much swollen by heavy rains. A large poplar log that had lodged on the bank and at an incline partly over the bank appeared to afford Ulysses a favorable seat from which to throw his line. Such of my readers as have attempted to walk on a poplar log after a rain have doubtless found a slippery footing, as was the case with the young fisherman. In a moment he had disappeared in the rapidly flowing stream. Without a moment's hesitation Ammen ran down the bank to a point where the stream narrowed and several willows, undermined by the water, leaned out barely above its surface. With the alacrity of an active boy, the future admiral hastened out on one of the trees, and, as his half-drowned companion came within his reach, caught and drew him from the rushing stream. "He was clothed at the time," writes Ammen, "in an upper garment buttoning on to a nether one that was my admiration. It was of Marseilles, with gorgeous red strips, and it seemed to me that this dress must be irretrievably ruined from its drenching in muddy water, and perhaps this fact impressed the circumstance on my mind." General Grant, writing to his playmate of forty-seven years previous, makes humorous reference to this important episode in his early life. He says that he has been conversing with the officers of the United States ship Vandalia (then at Nice in the Mediterranean, where the general was sojourning in 1877), and proceeds: "Of course, I told them that I owed you an old grudge as being responsible

for the many trials and difficulties I had passed through in the last half century, for nearly that length of time ago you rescued me from a watery grave. I am of a forgiving nature, however, and forgive you. But is the feeling universal? If the Democrats come into full power, may they not hold you responsible? But, as you are about retiring, I hope no harm will happen to you from any act of kindness done to me."

There was a farmer named Ralston living within a few miles of Georgetown, who owned a fine colt that Ulysses coveted. Mr. Grant had offered twenty dollars for him, but the farmer asked twenty-five. The lad was so eager to possess the colt that, after the owner had departed, he begged to be allowed to buy him at the price demanded. The rest of the story can best be told in the general's own words: "My father yielded, but said twenty dollars was all the horse was worth, and told me to offer that price; if it was not accepted, I was to offer twenty-two and a half, and if that would not get him to give the twenty-five. I at once mounted a horse and went for the colt. When I got to Mr. Ralston's house, I said to him, 'Papa says I may offer you twenty dollars for the colt, but if you won't take that I am to offer you twenty-two and a half, and if you won't take that to give you twenty-five.' It would not require a Connecticut man," concludes the soldier President, "to guess the price finally agreed upon."

From the age when he was strong enough to use the plow until he was seventeen young Grant performed all the work in which horses were used. No better method could have been devised for de-

veloping and hardening his nerves and muscles. During the same six years he frequently drove to Maysville, Cincinnati, Louisville, and other points from sixty to seventy miles distant with or for passengers, also attending school. These were chiefly the "subscription schools" of Georgetown, supported by a stipend from each pupil, and in which only the rudimentary branches were taught. The government was by the birch and rod. At home, however, the course of instruction and form of government were different. Perhaps no better mold for the casting of an heroic character could have been found than the tanner's family in the wilderness of Ohio. The father and mother, while not highly cultivated, possessed a keen sense of the value of education. They not only loved their children, but were ambitious for their future, and trained them with that end in view. Withal they were soberly and religiously minded, and reared their six children * according to the precepts of the Bible. Their method of government was that of reason and appeal. No lawful recreations or amusements were forbidden, and the future soldier, after his tasks were performed, hunted in the forest, fished or swam in the creek, or, taking the horses, visited his friends far and near at his pleasure. His youth, while it had its labors and privations, was not, like that of many men of mark, made cold and barren by lack of parental care and affection.

* Hiram Ulysses, 1822; Samuel Simpson, 1825; Cluny, 1828; Virginia, 1832; Orvil Lynch, 1835; and Mary Frances, 1839. Of these there are now (1897) but two survivors.

"It is," says Michelet, "a universal rule that great men resemble their mothers, who impress their mental and physical marks upon their souls." As in the case of so many other illustrious men, it was from his mother that Grant inherited his best traits of character. When he became President, she said of him as Mary Washington said of her son, "He was always a good boy," and expressed no more surprise at his elevation to the office than did Washington's mother when he became the chief ruler of the young nation in 1789. Mrs. Grant was graceful in person, gracious to her children, and kept them well clothed, which was unusual in the rural regions of Ohio at that time. As the author remembers her, she was above medium height and neat in her person. Her grandson Colonel Grant describes her as "one of the most modest and unselfish of women. Her intimate friends greatly appreciated her rare worth and excellent qualities, many of which the general inherited. Devoted as she was to him, his honors and success never betrayed her into an act or remark which would indicate that her head was turned by them. She was glad and thankful for his good fortune, and, with the loving faithfulness of a Christian mother, she had long made his welfare the subject of earnest prayer. She had faith in his future, though not great worldly expectations, and during the last years of her life her interest in his future had special reference to that part on which they have both entered."

The characteristics of ancestry are said to commonly survive with more or less vigor through nine and even ten generations, which lends force to

Emerson's remark that "every man is a quotation from his ancestors." The destiny due to inheritance certainly holds many of us within its firm grasp. Our forefathers are indeed

> . . . Dead but scept'red sovereigns
> Who still rule our spirits from their urns.

"My life in Georgetown," wrote Grant, "was uneventful. From the age of five or six until seventeen I attended the subscription schools of the village, except during the winters of 1836–'37 and 1838–'39. The former period was spent in Maysville, Ky., attending the school of Richardson and Rand; the latter in Ripley, Ohio, at a private school. I was not studious in habit, and probably did not make progress enough to compensate for board and tuition. . . . My father was, from my earliest recollection, in comfortable circumstances, considering the times, his place of residence, and the community in which he lived. Mindful of his own lack of facilities for acquiring an education, his greatest desire in maturer years was for the education of his children. Consequently, as stated before, I never missed a quarter from school from the time I was old enough to attend until the time of leaving home. This did not exempt me from labor. In my early days every one labored more or less in the region where my youth was spent, and more in proportion to their private means. It was only the very poor who were exempt. While my father carried on the manufacture of leather and worked at the trade himself, he owned and tilled considerable land. I detested the trade, preferring almost any other labor,

but I was fond of agriculture and of all employment in which horses were used. We had, among other lands, fifteen acres of forest within a mile of the village. In the fall of the year choppers were employed to cut enough wood to last a twelvemonth. When I was seven or eight years of age, I began hauling all the wood used in the house and shops. I could not load it on the wagons, of course, at that time, but I could drive, and the choppers would load and some one at the house unload. When about eleven years old, I was strong enough to hold a plow. From that age until seventeen I did all the work done with horses, such as breaking up the land, furrowing, plowing corn and potatoes, bringing in the crops when harvested, hauling all the wood, besides tending two or three horses, a cow or two, and sawing wood for stoves, etc., while still attending school. For this I was compensated by the fact that there was never any scolding or punishing by my parents, no objection to rational enjoyments, such as fishing, going to the creek a mile away to swim in summer, taking a horse and visiting my grandparents in the adjoining county, skating on the ice in winter, or taking a horse and sleigh when there was snow on the ground. . . . I have described enough of my early life to give an impression of the whole. I did not like to work, but I did as much of it while young as grown men can be hired to do in these days, and attended school at the same time. I had as many privileges as any boy in the village, and probably more than most of them. I have no recollection of ever having been punished at home, either by scolding or by the rod.

But at school the case was different—the rod was freely used there, and I was not exempt from its influence." * Grant was, presumably, soundly birched to the full extent of "the resources of civilization," like the other boys, and not in the manner of that schoolmaster of antiquity of whom it was said "he whipped his pupils gently." The general remarked to a friend that he had no recollection as a lad of playing truant from school or of robbing orchards.

In a letter written to Admiral Ammen from Pau, France, in December, 1878, the general thus alludes to his school-days: "The quarter of a century does not seem half so long as the one that preceded it and passed since you and I first received instructions, under John D. White, and a long beech switch, cut generally by the boys for their own chastisement." Mr. Grant stated that his son never flinched from the punishment that was frequent among the schools of the period in Ohio. "As a boy," writes Ammen, "Grant was never aggressive nor given to profanity, a vice that was not unusual with his companions. If provoked or insulted, he would fight it out manfully. He never entered into a fight without it being clearly the fault of the other boy. He was fond of horses; we rode usually without a saddle, a blanket being strapped on the back of the horse, and without stirrups. Without being slothful or inert, he had not that superabundant flow of animal spirits which impels many boys to stand on their heads and do

* Personal Memoirs, vol. i, New York, 1895.

various disagreeable things from thoughtlessness, apparently arising from great vitality."

Every member of the House of Representatives has authority to appoint from among his constituents a cadet to the United States Military Academy established at West Point, on the Hudson River, in 1802. Thomas L. Hamer,* the member of Congress from the Georgetown district, had appointed a son of Dr. Bailey, a neighbor of the Grants, but the boy had failed to pass the necessary preliminary examination. When, in 1834, Mr. Grant learned that young Bailey had been unsuccessful, he at once applied for the coveted position on behalf of his eldest son, and received a favorable reply. Arriving at home for the Christmas holidays from Ripley, where he was attending a winter school, his father informed him that he would probably receive the appointment. "But I won't go," said the boy. "I think you will," replied Mr. Grant, and, added the general when relating the incident in later life, "I thought so, too, if he did." At this period he appears to have neither aversion or desire for a military career, his opposition to the appointment arising no doubt from his reluctance to risk the examination, fearing that he might fail to pass, and so perhaps bring disgrace upon himself and his family as George Bartlett Bailey had done.

* Hamer commanded a regiment in the Mexican War, greatly distinguishing himself in the battle of Monterey, and was highly esteemed by General Taylor. Grant said he was a natural soldier, and that had he not died prematurely in Mexico, he would probably have held a high place in the history of his country, possibly the very highest.

Writing to a friend in 1865, Mr. Grant says, "When Ulysses was a boy he desired an education, and, as I did not feel able to stand the expense, I suggested West Point, which met his views, without any thought by him or me as to the military part of the course there." In another letter the father writes: "Early in the year 1839, when my eldest son was nearly seventeen years of age, he told me he could never follow the tanning business—that he did not like it. I said that whatever he expected to follow through life he should engage in now, and not waste his early years in learning a calling which he did not propose continuing. Among other preparations for his future career, he strongly desired an education. Although my business had been good and reasonably profitable, yet I did not feel able to support him at college. So I suggested West Point; that met his approbation, and I made application, which was fortunately successful."

Without ambition or particular desire to do so, young Grant made ready for his course at one of the most exacting of American educational institutions, where the number of failures are greater than in any university or college in the country. His unwillingness to enter upon the proposed course was somewhat modified by the thought that on his way to West Point he would pass through Philadelphia and New York, and be afforded an opportunity of viewing the wonders of Eastern civilization, for the backwoods boy was imbued with a passion for travel. At that time he had never seen a mountain of importance, the ocean, or even a large lake, nor a city greater than Cincinnati, then containing

less than forty thousand inhabitants. The appointment having been at length received, the Ohio youth's happy home life was now to come to a close, and a new and unknown field of action was to present itself with great possibilities and more important responsibilities.

If any critical reader is inclined to ask why devote so much space to the early days of the great commander in this and the succeeding chapter, the answer may be found in his statement to the author, that when he read a biography he was generally more interested in what the man did as a boy than in any other part of his career, also that the youth of a hero, with the influences that surround him, is perhaps the most important part of a biographer's subject. Grant was of John Milton's opinion that

> **The childhood shows the man,**
> **As morning shows the day.**

CHAPTER II.

CAREER AT THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

THE necessary preparations having been completed, the young cadet of seventeen set out about the middle of May, 1839, by steamboat up the Ohio River to Pittsburg, a journey of three days, then over the Alleghany Mountains to Harrisburg, and from thence to Philadelphia by railroad, at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which friends have heard Grant say he then considered very rapid traveling. The lad lingered with relatives five days in Philadelphia, visiting the principal places of interest, and a shorter period in New York, also devoted to sight-seeing, and then sailed up the Hudson River in the day boat to West Point, where he presented himself to the military authorities on the third day of June, provided with his provisional appointment signed by Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and armed with a pair of huge horse pistols received by him from a Pennsylvania kinsman, presumably as being necessary accessories for a military academy cadet! The academy had grown somewhat from the "corps of cadets with two captains to teach them mathematics of 1802," but was still in

embryo.* Major Richard Delafield, a strict disciplinarian and of good executive ability, had only the year before succeeded Major René E. De Russy, also of the Engineer Corps. The late academic building had but recently been erected. The library and observatory were not built until two years later. Three weeks before Grant's arrival the Secretary of War had issued an order transferring a sergeant and five dragoons from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, to West Point to teach the cadets riding, and during his first year the sergeant was officially designated as the "riding master." Authority was conferred on the superintendent to organize the artillery and cavalry arms of the service. The academy was still under congressional criticism. The charges that it "was a school of art," "had never produced a military genius, and never would," had not then been disproved by the war with Mexico and the more important civil war. During the same year a bill was introduced in Congress to abolish the Military Academy—a bill which Cadet Grant earnestly hoped would pass, but which, most fortunately for the country, failed to become a law.

On his arrival he signed the official record, as seen in the facsimile on page 22, Ulysses Hiram Grant, in accordance with the custom of all cadets who enter the academy. The member of Congress who conferred the appointment called him by mis-

* West Point was purchased by Alexander Hamilton soon after his accession to the Cabinet of Washington, and the last letters exchanged between these illustrious men related to the foundation of the United States Military Academy.

take Ulysses S. Grant,* and, as he failed to obtain a correction of the error from the authorities, the youth uncomplainingly accepted the new

designation. An abridged signature of Ulysses H. Grant also appears on the same day in the West Point Hotel register. By a curious coincidence Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who was Vice-President while Grant was our Chief Magistrate, was until his twentieth year known as Henry Colbath, when he assumed the name by which he was afterward so well and widely known.‡

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* The second son was named Samuel Simpson (1825–1861). The winter that the elder brother was at school at Ripley, Mr. Hamer had sometimes visited the Grants and had heard the youth called Simpson. Not aware that there was an older son, he supposed he was quite correct in calling him Ulysses Simpson. Grant, as has been stated in the previous chapter, was christened Hiram Ulysses, but when about to start for West Point, he saw in large letters the initials H. U. G., he said, "That won't do; it spells 'hug,' and will make me an object of ridicule." So the name was transposed and the trunk relettered U. H. G. When he left the Military Academy four years later, the initials were again changed on the trunk to U. S. G.

† From Memorial History City of New York. Vol. 3, 1893.

‡ Jules Grévy, a recent President of France, was neither Jules nor Grévy, but Judith François Paul Greviot; Henry M. Stanley, the African explorer, was originally plain John Rowland; and Field-Marshal Lord Clyde was another illustrious nineteenth-century commander who achieved fame under another name than the one bestowed on him at baptism. Before he was sixteen, Colin Macliver, the son of a Glasgow carpenter, who had

A few days after entering the Military Academy the young cadet from Ohio wrote the following letter to his revered mother, which alike truly illustrates their characters: "I have occasionally been called to be separated from you, but never did I feel the full force and effect of this separation as I do now. I seem alone in the world without my mother. There have been so many ways in which you have advised me, when in the quiet of home I have been pursuing my studies, that you can not tell how much I miss you. I was so often alone with you, and you so frequently spoke to me in private, that the solitude of my situation here at the academy among my silent books and in my lonely room is all the more striking. It reminds me the more forcibly of home, and most of all, dear mother, of you. But, in the midst of all this, your kindly instructions and admonitions are ever present with me. I trust they may never be absent from me as long as I live. How often do I think of them, and how well they strengthen me in every good word and work! My dear mother, should I progress well with my studies at West Point and become a soldier

married a Campbell, was presented by her brother, Colonel John Campbell (who had placed his nephew in the Royal Military and Navy Academy at Gosport), to the Duke of York, then commander in chief, who promised the lad a commission. Supposing him to be, as he said, "another of the clan," he put down his name as Colin Campbell, the name which he ever after bore. On leaving the duke's presence with his uncle, the young cadet made some comment on what he took to be a mistake on the duke's part in regard to his surname, to which the shrewd colonel replied by saying that "Campbell was a name which it would suit him very well for professional reasons to adopt."

of my country, I am looking forward with hope to have you spared to share with me in any advancement I may make. I see now, in looking over the records here, how much American soldiers of the right stamp are indebted to good American mothers. When they go to the field, what prayers go with them! What tender testimonials of affection and counsel are in their knapsacks! I am struck, in looking over the history of the noble struggle of our fathers for national independence, at the evidence of the good influence exerted upon them by the women of the Revolution. Ah! my beloved friend, how can the present generation ever repay the debt it owes the patriots of the past for the sacrifices they so freely made for us? We may well ask, Would our country be what it is now if it had not been for the greatness of our patriotic ancestors?"

His second letter, also written in June, 1839, was addressed to his father. His words are so admirable and seemingly so prophetic that it is a pleasure to present them on this page: "I am rendered serious by the impressions which crowd upon me here at West Point. My thoughts are frequently occupied with the hatred I am made to feel toward traitors to my country as I look around me on the memorials that remain of the treason of Arnold. I am full of a conviction of scorn and contempt, which my young and inexperienced pen is unable to express in this letter, toward the conduct of any man who at any time could strike at the liberties of such a nation as ours. If ever men should be found in our Union base enough to make the at-

tempt to do this—if, like Arnold, they should secretly seek to sell our national inheritance for the mess of pottage of wealth, or power, or section—West Point sternly reminds them of what you, my father, would have your son do. As I stand here in this national fort, a student of arms under our country's flag, I know full well how you would have me act in such an emergency. I trust my future conduct in such an hour would prove worthy the patriotic instructions you have given."

General William B. Franklin, who graduated at the head of the class of 1843, writes to the author: "Grant arrived at West Point on June 3, 1839, and I arrived there the day following. We were assigned to the same squad for drill, and to adjoining rooms in barracks with four other new cadets. Our experiences were the same as those of other new cadets at that time, and the only strange thing was that Grant and I used to be taken for each other by an officer to whom I had a letter of introduction, and I have heard from others that there was a strong likeness between us at that time.* When we began recitations we were in the same sections in studies for a month or six weeks, and sat side by side. He was an honest student, but did not

* This is a surprising circumstance when it is remembered that Grant was but five feet eight inches in his mature years, while Franklin was considerably over six feet, perhaps with the most erect and soldierly figure of any officer in our army. This distinction was a few years after the close of the civil war claimed for General Hancock "the Superb" by some of his friends, which led to a wager, the judges awarding the palm to Franklin.

work for a high standing. He kept a place about the middle of the class during the whole course. He was much respected as a man of firmness, and one who when he made up his mind could not be swerved by any force from the course upon which he had decided. There were thirty-nine in the class, and upon one occasion—the election of managers for the summer amusements—we stood nineteen to nineteen, and the casting vote was in Grant's hands, as, not caring for amusements, he took little interest in the matter. I remember the conferences held and the diplomacy used to induce Grant to vote, and to vote right, and what rejoicing there was when he decided to vote on our side. After his decision, the arguments of the other side (with which he was more closely allied than with us) were of no avail. These incidents are all insignificant enough. But fifty-six years have elapsed since they occurred, and I am rather surprised that I remember anything about them."

Dr. Henry Coppée (1821–'95), who was at West Point with Grant, described him as having been a plain, common-sense, straightforward youth, quiet, shunning notoriety, contented while others were grumbling, performing his duties in a perfunctory way, not prominent in the corps, but respected by all and beloved by his few friends. At the academy nearly every cadet has his nickname, which was more generally used than that bestowed on him at baptism. Grant was "Uncle Sam," in allusion to the initials of his name. "He was then and always an excellent horseman," continues Coppée. "His picture rises up before me as I write, in the old torn

coat,* obsolescent leather gig-top loose riding pantaloons, with spurs buckled over them, going with his clanking saber to the drill hall. He exhibited but little enthusiasm in anything. His best standing was in mathematical branches, and their application to mechanics and military engineering."

General James H. Stokes (1820–'94), a classmate from Maryland, said a short time before his death: "No one could possibly be more surprised than myself at Grant's amazing success in the war. We of the 'smart' set thought the Western boy was 'countrified.' There was nothing bad about Grant, and I had no dislike at all for him, but I did not have much intercourse with him. He was not particularly tidy about his dress, and he even had a certain slouchy air about him that many of the class thought unsoldierly, but he never did anything positively offensive, and, as he was always quiet and attended to his own affairs, we liked him well enough, but only in a negative way. As a rider, he had no superior in the corps or out of it." Testimony as to the truth of this statement may be found in the following account of one of Grant's many feats of horsemanship, related by General James B. Fry (1827–'94), who in June, 1843, arrived at West Point as a candidate for admission to the academy. Entering the riding hall, where the members of the graduating class was being put through their final mounted exercises, he saw Major Delafield, the Board of Visitors, and a large number of ladies and

* Riding jackets had not at that time been introduced, and the cadets generally donned their shabbiest clothes to wear in the heat and dust of the riding hall.

gentleman. The class, all mounted, were formed in line through the center of the hall, and H. R. Hershberger, the riding master, placing the leaping bar at a height of six feet five inches, called out, "Cadet Grant!" A clean-faced, slender, blue-eyed young fellow, weighing about one hundred and twenty pounds, dashed forward from the ranks on a powerfully built chestnut-sorrel horse, and galloped down the opposite side of the hall. As he turned at the farther end and came down the straight stretch across which the bar was placed, the horse increased his pace, and, measuring his strides for the great leap before him, bounded into the air and cleared the bar, carrying his perfect rider as if man and beast had been welded together. The spectators were breathless. "Very well done, sir!" growled "old Hershberger." The class was dismissed and dispersed, but, concluded the general, "Cadet Grant remained a living image in my memory." It is the highest jump recorded in military annals, but has been frequently surpassed in civil life. A thoroughbred recently cleared a bar seven feet high in the Madison Square Garden of New York.

General Joseph J. Reynolds, of the class of 1843, writes: "Grant as a cadet was not specially noted in any respect. He was modest, unassuming, not disposed to assert himself, was outspoken, straightforward, candid, and self-reliant; was companionable, given to no vices, and was not at all inclined to be a leader among his classmates; while an all-round good fellow, he was devoid of extremes in any direction. He was not a hard student, though he neglected nothing, always held a safe place about

the middle of the class, but was most proficient in the more difficult and practical studies—mathematics, mechanics, and engineering — showing strong capacities under good control. He was an expert horseman, and fond of exhibiting during cavalry exercise, the remarkable ability as a leaper of his favorite big sorrel horse York. He disliked drill and parades, and did not hesitate to say so, caring nothing for military show."

In a recent letter General James Longstreet says: "I have tried to recall something of Grant at West Point, but he was so diffident and retiring that no one outside of his class could learn much about him. We were at the academy three years together, he being of the class next to my own, but I never saw him away from his immediate associates, except occasionally when he would venture in a game of football. As he was not strong enough for a leading part, he made but little impression upon the players. He was the most daring and accomplished horseman at the academy. After graduating, we served in the same regiment for two years, but it was in monotonous camp life. We sometimes arose much distressed at having lost during the day seventy-five or eighty cents at five-cent poker, or 'jack pot,' as it is now called. . . . Grant and Lincoln were the only two men capable of mastering the situation brought about by the war of secession. Neither was appreciated during life, and I may say that not even now can the people entirely compass the extent of their grandeur." Elsewhere the general writes: "But the class next after us (1843) was destined to furnish the man who

was to eclipse all—to rise to the rank of general, an office made by Congress to honor his services; who became President of the United States, and for a second term; who received the salutations of all the powers of the civilized world in his travels as a private citizen around the earth; of noble, generous heart, a lovable character, a valued friend —Ulysses S. Grant." *

Father Deshon, of the Paulist Fathers' College of New York, who shared a room with Grant for a year in Camp Cockloft, North Barracks, when they were second classmen, informs me that a lower classman was taken in on trial, but soon dismissed for various reasons, among others owing to his habit of making notes on his finger nails and cuffs before attending his classes, which Grant deemed dishonorable. Indeed, all that was mean or envious the young Ohio cadet seemed to turn from so completely that when in his company it appeared almost as if such unfortunate characteristics did not then exist among the cadets of the academy.

General William T. Sherman (1820–'91) said: "I remember as plain as if it was yesterday Grant's first appearance among us. I was three years ahead of him. I remember seeing his name on the paper in the hall on the bulletin board where the names of all the newcomers were posted. I ran my eye down the columns, and there saw U. S. Grant. Some of us began to make names to fit the initials. One

* From Manassas to Appomattox, Memoirs of the Civil War in America, by James Longstreet, Lieutenant General Confederate Army. Philadelphia, 1896.

said 'United States Grant,' another 'Uncle Sam Grant'; a third shouted 'Sam Grant.' That name stuck to him."

General Alfred Pleasanton (1824–'97), who graduated a year later than Grant, remembered him as a perfect horseman, remarking to a friend that there was something almost mysterious in the power he possessed as a cadet to communicate to a horse his wishes. He also recalled the curious circumstance that "Sam Grant," like Napoleon and Wellington, had no ear for music, either during his career at the academy or in later life, and that as a cadet he never succeeded in learning the bugle calls for classes and other duties.

In a letter dated February, 1897, General Samuel G. French, the oldest member of the class of 1843, writes: "General Grant came to West Point in June, 1839, a youth; in appearance a country boy. His manners were easy, quiet, and unobtrusive. In company he was reticent, but always an attentive listener, and, if drawn into conversation, his remarks were brief and pertinent, and yet there was a rich vein of humor in his intercourse with his intimate friends. In forming the sections of a new class for study, the cadets were arranged alphabetically. In our case the first section embraced all names from A to E. The second section commencing at F, threw Grant and myself into the same section, and we remained together in nearly every study during our cadetship. Consequently, I heard nearly every demonstration he made. Like many others, he was not a competitor for 'honors,' but was content to be diligent enough to master

the course without hard study and maintain a standing near the middle of the class.

"In a retrospection that runs back near sixty years the lights of the past burn dimly, yet I will relate a few of the incidents of his cadet life that were manifestations of character that he maintained throughout his remarkable career in after years. One day, in a recitation in astronomy, he was asked to repeat the signs of the zodiac, and, following the text-book, he commenced, 'Aries, Taurus, Gemini,' and stopped and said, 'I don't remember them.' Then I was called on to repeat them, and, to the astonishment of the professor, I began:

'The Ram, the Bull, the heavenly Twins, next the Crab the Lion shines, the Virgin and the Scales,
The Scorpion, Archer, and the Goat, the Man who carries the watering pot, and Fish with glittering tails.'

'Yes, yes, yes,' exclaimed the professor (Joseph Roberts), 'that poetry is very nice, but, Mr. French, you will please translate it into the language of the text-book.' In returning to quarters, Grant asked me to write it out for him, as it was the best and most practical way to remember them. I mention this to point out his practical mind.

"On another occasion Grant was sent to the blackboard to demonstrate a complex problem, to do which required a drawing of great nicety. He covered the board with innumerable lines. If the figure had been drawn plainly the demonstration would have been plain. He commenced by saying, 'Let these lines represent rays of light falling on this plain, and let this plain intersect the plain C D at this line,' etc., pointing them out by running his

fingers over the board. This was not satisfactory; it was repeated over. Finally the professor said, 'Mr. Grant, please point out which line represents the intersection of two certain plains.' Grant, still facing him, turned his arm around, and, without looking, spread the palm of his hand flat on the board, fingers radiating, covering a dozen lines, said, 'This is it.' The scene was too much for the sobriety of any one, save Grant himself, who maintained his tranquil manner amid the laughter. He always insisted that he did point out the line.

"The class was divided into two sections for instruction in riding. Among the horses there was one that possessed what is termed great 'gathering power,' arising by extreme development of muscle in the hind quarters. Grant rode this horse in the first section and Cave J. Couts in the second. The horse could leap over a bar near seven feet high, and the manner the animal did it made it difficult for the rider to maintain his seat. The horse would approach the pole at a slow canter, stop, and, rearing up nearly perpendicular, then with the prodigious power of his hind quarters spring up and alight on his fore feet close by the bar on the other side, while his hind feet were barely over the bar. It was a perilous feat, and none of us cared to try it. Before General Winfield Scott and the Board of Visitors Grant leaped the bar held high above the head of the soldier who rested it against the wall. This is undoubted evidence of his horsemanship.

"One morning, when our squad was marching to the academic hall to recite, Frank Gardner produced an old silver watch that was apparently about

four inches in diameter. It was passed along from one cadet to another to look at, and when we arrived at the section-room door it was in the hands of Grant. He could hide or carry it only by putting it in the breast of his coat. When the section was seated, Zealous B. Tower (who that day heard the recitation) sent Grant and three other cadets to the blackboards. The weather was mild, and the room door open. When Grant had turned from the board and had commenced to demonstrate, suddenly a sound resembling a buzz saw and a Chinese gong burst forth and drowned all proceedings, and in the uproar we laughed aloud with impunity. 'Shut that door!' cried Tower, and that only made matters worse. 'Fast and furious' went the buzz saw, and louder went the gong. Bang! went something. The noise stopped. While all this rattling din was going on Grant looked as innocent as a lamb, and in the profound silence that followed he began, 'And, as I was going to remark, if we subtract equation E from equation A, we have,' etc. I mention this to show how he could conceal his emotions, for it was that alarm watch in his bosom that caused all this commotion. It had been set to go off, and it did go off! From the bewilderment of Tower to locate whence the noise proceeded, he may yet be ignorant of the cause of it.

"Grant was not an artist or a good draughtsman, and, when in the drawing academy, if there was an animal in his picture,* I would tell him to 'put a

* General French probably refers to Grant's first attempts at the academy, for some of his pictures executed, in his third and

legend to it for explanation or write over it, "This is a horse or cow," as the case might be, so that an admirer would not be mislead.' He was well aware of this, and when he was President I asked him to give me an order through the War Department to have a painting that I had made—which was kept by the Academic Board, and which was then still hanging on the walls of the picture gallery for exhibition—be given me. His reply was humorous. He said, 'Write me a note to remind me of it, and you shall have your painting, and also any of mine that you can find there.'"

General Zealous B. Tower, Grant's only surviving West Point instructor, writing in February, 1897, says: "Passing without difficulty the prescribed examination for admission at the Military Academy, Grant was fairly proficient in his studies through his four years of cadet life. Yet, though possessing undoubted capacity to excel, he did not evince that strong desire to attain high class standing, which incites to severe and persistent application. To the more solid and scientific branches of study, as mathematics and physics, for which he had a liking, he applied himself more diligently than to the lighter studies of the academic course. Grant's intimate associates at West Point were aware that he was not putting forth his strength, and he admits this frankly in his Memoirs. The stimulus of ambition seems to have been lacking, otherwise one so mentally strong would not have

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fourth years, are still preserved and are exceedingly creditable to a young cadet who could give but little time to the study of art.

been content with medium success among his classmates. In his later years Grant told me that on one occasion having neglected his lesson, he gave a solution to the problem submitted to him by Prof. Church different from the text, whereupon the professor informed him that it was correct, but if he had read his text-book he would have found a shorter solution. Grant, however, received a maximum for the recitation."

In 1865, Prof. Dennis H. Mahan wrote: "Grant was what we termed a first section man in all his scientific studies—that is, one who accomplishes the full course. He always showed himself a clear thinker and a steady worker, belonging to the class of compactly strong men who went at their task at once and kept at it until finished. . . . That Sherman should accomplish something great, I was prepared to learn. But not so in Grant, whose round, cheery, boyish face, though marked with character and quiet manner, gave none of that evidence of what he has since shown he possesses."

Of his West Point career Grant himself said: "A military life had no charms for me, and I had not the faintest idea of staying in the army even if I should be graduated, which I did not expect. Mathematics was easy to me, so that when January came I passed the examination, taking a good standing in that branch. In French, the only other study at that time in the first year's course, my standing was very low. In fact, if the class had been turned the other end foremost I should have been near head. I never succeeded in getting squarely at either end of my class in any one study during the

four years. I came near it in French, infantry and cavalry tactics, and conduct. I had not been 'called out' as a corporal, but when I returned from furlough I found myself the last but one—about my standing in all the tactics—of eighteen sergeants. The promotion was too much for me. That year my standing in the class, as shown by the number of demerits of the year, was about the same as it was among the sergeants, and I was dropped, and served the fourth year as a private. During my first year's encampment General Scott (1786–1866) visited West Point and reviewed the cadets. With his commanding figure, his quite colossal size, and showy uniform, I thought him the finest specimen of manhood my eyes had ever beheld, and the most to be envied. I could never resemble him in appearance, but I believe I did have a presentiment for a moment that I should occupy his place on review, although I had no intention then of remaining in the army." *

On an earlier occasion Grant said: "I had no very easy time of it at West Point. In a class of more than one hundred I was behind them all in almost everything. I never succeeded in getting very near either the head or the foot of the class. I was within three of the foot in the languages, I believe, and within five of the head in mathematics. I was at the head in horsemanship, but that did not count. I graduated as number twenty-one, and was exceedingly glad to get it."

Grant's official record as furnished to the au-

* Personal Memoirs, vol. i, p. 41.

thor by Colonel Oswald H. Ernst, Corps of Engineers, commanding the Military Academy, together with his comments, will be read with interest: "When the general reported here in June, 1839, for examination for admission he signed the registry book as Ulysses Hiram Grant, but, with this exception, he is born on all the other records in this office as Ulysses Simpson Grant. The letter from the War Department, dated May 1, 1839, giving the names of the candidates appointed for that year, records him as U. S. Grant, and his letter of appointment bore the name of Ulysses Simpson Grant. He held the rank of cadet sergeant from July 2, 1841, to June 17, 1842, and was a cadet private during the remainder of his course at the academy. It appears from the accompanying table that in general he stood about the middle of his class throughout the course, being above the average in mathematical studies and below it in languages and deportment."

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, OF OHIO.

Entered July 1, 1839, aged seventeen years and two months; graduated June, 1843.

FOURTH CLASS, June, 1840. (60 members.)		THIRD CLASS, June, 1841. (53 members.)	
General standing	27	General standing	24
Mathematics	16	Mathematics	10
French	49	French	44
Conduct	156	Drawing	23
(Number graded .... 233.)		Ethics	46
Number of demerits	59	Conduct	144
		(Number graded .... 219.)	
		Number of demerits	67

SECOND CLASS, June, 1842. (41 members.)		FIRST CLASS, June, 1843. (39 members.)	
General standing	20	General standing	21
Philosophy	15	Engineering	16
Chemistry	22	Ethics	28
Drawing	19	Infantry tactics	28
Conduct	157	Artillery tactics	25
(Number graded.... 217.)		Mineralogy and geology...	17
Number of demerits	98	Conduct	156
		(Number graded... 223.)*	
		Number of demerits	66

A few months before graduation General James A. Hardie (1823–'76), of Grant's class, said to one of the instructors, "Well, sir, if a great emergency arises in this country during our lifetime Sam Grant will be the man to meet it," and another member of the same class, who stood second at graduation, the Rev. George Deshon, expressed the opinion in 1845 to Colonel Henry L. Kendrick (1811–'91), one of their professors, that Grant would some day prove to the Academic Board that he was the strongest man in his class. A third prediction was made by Benjamin Bevie, a bugler at the time Grant was a cadet, and who was a member of the band. He was married, and his wife attended to Cadet Grant's washing. Referring to his initials of U. S., he several times said, "Well, cadet, you will be President of the United States." "When I am," answered Grant, "you may remind me that I now promise to

* In determining standing in "conduct," the corps of cadets was considered as a whole and each cadet was given his number in order of merit irrespective of class. The expression used above, "number graded," indicates the total strength of the corps at that time.

make you my secretary." The modest musician lived to see Grant our Chief Magistrate, but never reminded the President of his promise.

So far as can be learned from Grant's surviving classmates,* numbering thirty-nine, who graduated, of the one hundred and more who had been appointed in 1839, he made the usual unauthorized expeditions to Benny Havens's saloon below Highland Falls, but rarely indulged in liquor of any kind, nor did he at that period smoke or use tobacco in any other form. His frolics were all of an innocent character. One of these the general related the last time that he dined with the writer. He said: "Late one evening Nat Lyon came to our room and proposed if we would cook it that he would go out and capture one of old Delafield's turkeys. As Deshon and myself assented, he set out, returning in less than half an hour with a fine fat turkey, which was immediately hung over our fire, for at that time they had open fireplaces, with unlimited supplies of wood. While the turkey was revolving over the brisk fire footsteps were heard in the hall, and Lyon † ran out and regained his room. Into our quarters presently entered Lieutenant Grier,‡ Deshon and myself standing with our backs to the fire to screen the turkey. The lieuten-

* Augur, Deshon, French, Franklin, and Reynolds.

† General Nathaniel Lyon of the class of 1841 was born in Ashford, Conn., July 14, 1818, and was killed in battle near Wilson's Creek, Mo., August 10, 1861.

‡ General William N. Grier of the class of 1835 was born in Northumberland, Pa., July 11, 1812, and died in California, July 8, 1885, but a fortnight before Grant.

ant looked around, saw nothing, although the room was filled with the odor of roast turkey, said 'Good-night,' and passed out. I am inclined to believe that this act of kindness on the part of Grier in not reporting us," added Grant, "may possibly have helped to secure his promotion during the late war."

In the office of the Secretary of War at Washington may be seen a framed document entitled "Declaration against purchasing, after certain date, of John De Witt, post sutler," dated April 15, 1843. It is signed by thirty-four members of the class of that year, including William B. Franklin, Joseph J. Reynolds, Frederick T. Dent, John J. Peck, Samuel G. French, George Deshon, Rufus Ingalls, and U. H. Grant, which would seem to indicate that the name transposed by which he was baptized had not been at that time entirely abandoned. Of this interesting relic General Reynolds, one of the surviving signers, sends the present biographer the following account: "We were at the date of this document within about sixty days of graduation, and, of course, feeling happy. It was then customary for the superintendent to grant permission to the storekeeper to open an account with the class about to graduate. We had some misunderstanding with the storekeeper, Mr. John De Witt, the precise nature of which I do not now recall, but it led to the declaration referred to. This matter was suggested and managed by George Stevens, of Vermont, who was drowned while crossing the Rio Grande near Matamoras, May 18, 1846, as second lieutenant of the Second Dragoons. It seems that he preserved the original, and it was found among

his effects that were forwarded to his family after his decease. A few years since it was sent to the War Department by a brother of our classmate. The paper was passed around for signatures when we were finishing fortification drawings, which will explain why many names are made in various colors of paint, and with brush instead of pen; others were signed afterward with pen or pencil. The transaction was simply a freak of a set of youngsters who, conscious of the near approach of release from academic restrictions, 'felt their oats.' There was nothing serious in the misunderstanding that brought about the 'Declaration,' and I am not by any means sure that we stuck to it to the day of graduation. On that point my memory is not distinct. The document is brought into prominence merely because it bears the name of Grant, but his connection with it was simply the same as that of his thirty odd classmates. You will observe that it is signed U. H., not U. S., Grant. It is proper, I should add, that John De Witt was held in high esteem by us all, and that his family are most kindly remembered by those who were then cadets for many social courtesies. Two of his daughters married army officers."

Among the important public buildings of the academy is a substantial and massive one constructed of granite, and known as Grant Hall. Its principal apartment is used as a mess hall for the corps of cadets, and its walls are hung with portraits of many of its most distinguished graduates. In October, 1889, paintings of the three generals of the army whose names will remain indissolubly con-

nected with the war for the preservation of the Union were presented by George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, on which occasion General Sherman said: "I think it will be admitted, and I can say it without suspicion of egotism, that Grant, Sheridan, and myself were the three central military figures of the war, and I am glad that we shall go down to posterity together. . . . I was older than Grant or Sheridan. No three men ever lived on the earth's surface so diverse in mental and physical attributes as the three men whose portraits you now look upon. Different in every respect save one—we had a guiding star, we had an emblem of nationality in our mind, implanted at West Point, which made us come together for a common purpose as the rays of the sun coming together make them burn."

The most successful students at the Military Academy are not infrequently outstripped in later life by their slower and less showy comrades. What was the West Point standing of many of our most illustrious soldiers, several of whom may safely be included among the great commanders of our nearly completed century? Grant was graduated, as has been already stated, number twenty-one in a class of thirty-nine; Sherman, number six among forty-two graduates; Sheridan, number thirty-four in a class of fifty-two; the noble Virginian Thomas, number twelve among forty-two classmates; Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, that decisive battle of the war, number nineteen in a class of fifty-six; heroic Hooker, twenty-nine among fifty comrades; "Stonewall" Jackson, number seventeen; Sedgwick, twen-

ty-four in a company of fifty; Longstreet, of Georgia, sixty in a class of sixty-two; Pickett, of Virginia, at the foot of his class; and gallant Hancock, number eighteen among twenty-five graduates. From these examples, that might be indefinitely extended among the thirty-six hundred and ninety graduates of the United States Military Academy, it will be seen that most of those mentioned who won renown on many a doubtful day approximated more closely to the foot than to the head of their classes. Of course, it has occasionally happened that the honor men, like Halleck and McClellan, of the armies of the North, and like the Confederate leaders Joseph E. Johnston and Robert E. Lee, attained to high rank and renown, but more generally fortune has favored the less brilliant cadets of the academy.*

Grant left West Point in June, 1843, as brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth United States Infantry, then, as afterward to the close of his great

* In General Benjamin F. Butler's Memoirs (Boston, 1892) he says: "Grant evidently did not get enough of West Point into him to hurt him any; he was less like a West Point man than any officer I ever knew. The reader sees how much of a military education I lost in not having gone to West Point to get a military education like that of Grant. The less of West Point a man has the more successful he will be. We see how little Grant had. All of the very successful generals of our war stood near the lower end of their classes at West Point. As examples take Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. All the graduates in the higher ranks in their classes never came to anything as leaders of armies in the war. The whole thing puts me in mind of an advertisement I saw in a newspaper in my youth. It contained a recipe for making graham bread out of unbolted flour mixed with sawdust. The recipe ended as follows: 'N. B.—The less sawdust the better.'"

career, a character which, in the words of a friend, "betrayed no trust, falsified no word, violated no rights, manifested no tyranny, sought no personal aggrandizement, complained of no hardship, displayed no jealousy, opposed no subordinate, but in whatever sphere protected every interest, upheld his flag, and was ever known by his humanity, sagacity, courage, and honor." What more could be claimed for any young American? What for the greatest of American commanders?

CHAPTER III.

THE CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO.

GRANT began his army service in July, 1843, as brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry, his commission being signed by John Tyler. This regiment, commanded by Colonel Joseph H. Vose, was then stationed at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, the chief military station of the West. In the summer of 1844 it was moved to Nachitoches, La., in readiness to march on Mexico should the war at that time threatening be declared. Texas was then fighting for her independence. Her representatives had been for some time in Washington seeking to induce our Government to take her under its protection. The bill for the annexation of Texas passed Congress near the close of the session of 1844–'45, and was promptly signed by President Tyler, March 1, 1845. When the Fourth heard of this it expected marching orders immediately, no one doubting that war with Mexico would be the result. This did not come, however, until July, and then carried the regiment no nearer the seat of war than New Orleans, which, owing to the presence of yellow fever, was more dangerous to life than the battlefield.

Early in September, however, the Fourth received further orders which carried them to Corpus Christi, Tex., then held by General Zachary Taylor's army of occupation. This force comprised five regiments of infantry—the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth—one regiment of artillery acting as infantry, four companies of light artillery, and seven companies of the Second Regiment of Dragoons, the total force not exceeding three thousand, but most of them regular troops, and officered chiefly by graduates of the United States Military Academy—a compact, brave, well-drilled body of troops of excellent *esprit*, and, as the sequel proved, most effective. It was charged that the army had been ordered there with a view to inviting attack; if so, the movement failed, for the Mexicans showed no inclination to fight. After a few days the command was moved over to the Rio Grande, opposite the fortified Mexican town of Matamoras, and began throwing up intrenchments. The Mexicans soon took up the gage thus boldly thrown down. As soon as the intrenchments were sufficiently strong, General Taylor marched his command back to Point Isabel, on the coast, some twenty-five miles distant, for supplies, leaving the Second Infantry, Major Jacob Brown commanding, to garrison the post. Barely had he reached Point Isabel when the muffled roar of guns from above told him that Brown had been attacked and the war begun.

No news of the result could be obtained, for prowling bands of Mexicans cut off all communication. Hurriedly transferring his supplies to the

wagons, Taylor, his army re-enforced at Point Isabel, but still less than three thousand strong, marched back to the relief of the Seventh. Of this advance the enemy had early intelligence, and were on the alert to intercept it.

The road from Point Isabel to Matamoras lay over an open, rolling prairie, treeless until the timber that fringed the various channels of the Rio Grande was reached, for the river, winding through the alluvial bottoms, had cut and then relinquished several channels, some of which were dry, others showing small lakes or pools at intervals, but still covered with groves of heavy timber, which in some instances extended as far as three miles into the prairie. Of these outlying channels, the one nearest the advancing column was that at Resaca de la Palma, some five miles east of the true bed of the river, and which was filled with a succession of the small lakes or pools before mentioned. Beneath the forest were dense thickets of *chaparral*, almost impassable, while the grass of the prairie on the verge of the timber was nearly the height of a man, stiff, and fitted with points nearly as sharp and hard as those of a needle. The little army, toiling over the prairie, reached this timber belt at a place called Palo Alto—" tall trees "—and there found the Mexican army drawn up in line of battle to receive them. Taylor in this, his initial battle, displayed great coolness and judgment. He halted the column and formed line of battle, throwing a battalion to the rear to act as a reserve, and coolly detailing a platoon of each company to fill their own and their comrades' canteens from a brook flowing near. This

done, he ordered an advance, and, coming within artillery range, brought his guns—a battery of six-pounders, one of twelve-pounder howitzers, and two eighteen-pounders—to the front and opened fire. The battle became now an artillery duel, in which the invaders had the advantage, their guns, though antiquated enough in modern eyes, being superior to those of the Mexicans, which threw only solid shot. The latter often struck the plain in advance of the Americans and then riccochetted through the tall grass so slowly that the ranks would open and allow them to pass harmlessly through. This artillery fire continued for some hours, with loss to the enemy and little to the Americans. Several advances were made during the day, the result generally being favorable to the attacking force, and at nightfall, by a rapid forward movement, the latter took and held the position occupied in the morning by the Mexicans, the American loss being but nine killed and forty-seven wounded.

This was Lieutenant Grant's first battle. He seems to have borne the ordeal without flinching, although once at least his nerves were put to the test, for a cannon ball swept through the ranks near him, killing an enlisted man and mortally wounding Captain John Page of his company.

Grant played a more important part in the next day's battle or skirmish—that of Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans withdrew during the night and took post on the farther bank of the old channel at Resaca—a strong position, protected by the lakes and by improvised intrenchments of dead trees

and brush. Captain George A. McCall, of Grant's regiment, with Captain Charles F. Smith, of the artillery, were now ordered to make a reconnoissance, which left Lientenant Grant in command. The reconnoitering force, threading the thickets as best it could, found no enemy until it reached the old channel at Resaca, where it discovered the intrenchments, and reported the fact to General Taylor. The main body was promptly ordered up, and when it struck the enemy the battle began. It was a day of gallant charges and sturdy defense without repulse, but when it closed the Americans were masters of the field.

Lieutenant Grant commanded his company creditably during the engagement, at one time leading a charge which captured a Mexican colonel and several privates. Slowly beating back the enemy, at night the army occupied its old quarters opposite Matamoras, and relieved Fort Brown, which had been hard pressed for several days, Major Harvey Brown, the commanding officer, having been killed early in the seige.

When news of these two battles reached Washinton, war was declared, and Taylor began preparations for the invasion of Mexico. He crossed the Rio Grande and occupied Matamoras. Volunteers flocked to his standard, among them an Ohio regiment, the major of which was Thomas L. Hamer, the member of Congress who had appointed young Grant to West Point. In the army of invasion at this time were also Albert Sidney Johnston, of Kentucky, and Robert E. Lee, of Virginia, the Confederate generals whom our young

lieutenant subsequently confronted and defeated in the civil war. Both were his superiors in years and rank, Johnston having been born in 1803 and Lee four years later.

Taylor's plan was to attack the Mexican capital from the north by way of Monterey, a city lying at the entrance of a pass in the Sierra Madre Mountains, through which ran the main road to the capital. He began his campaign on August 19, 1846, the troops, except the cavalry, artillery, and Garland's brigade, being moved up the Rio Grande by steamers to Camargo, the head of navigation. The marching column moved by the south bank, Lieutent Grant being detailed to act as quartermaster and commissary of his regiment.

From Camargo the army moved on Monterey in four columns, each a day's march apart, until Maria, twenty-four miles from Monterey, was reached, when it was consolidated and moved *en masse.* Before it towns, hamlets, and farms were depopulated, the women and children often being seen scampering over the hills to escape the dreaded *Los Gringos*—the Yankees. By September 19th Taylor had massed his army at Walnut Springs, three miles from Monterey, and his engineer officers, under Major Jared Mansfield, were making their reconnoissance. The town was found to be situated on a small stream flowing out of the pass, while close behind the city and protecting its rear rose a range of hills. To the north, between the town and the army, lay a wide plain, extending to Walnut Springs. Where the last few straggling houses of the suburbs encroached upon this plain

stood its main defense, a strong fort walled on all sides, which from its somber color the soldiers at once named the "Black Fort." There were other fortifications on two detached spurs of the mountains to the north and northwest; on one of these stood also the Bishop's Palace, a large stone structure, capable of being used for defense. The guns from these heights also commanded the road to Saltillo, which left the city on the west. On the eastern side were two or three detached works; on the south the mountain stream and range of hills before mentioned. There were also interior defenses worthy of mention, the plaza or square being filled with hastily raised parapets, behind which cannon sweeping all the principal streets were mounted, while the housetops overlooking it had been filled with ramparts of sand bags for the protection of infantry.

These various works were held by ten thousand men under General Pedro de Ampudia. Taylor's army, numbering six thousand five hundred men, was massed in three divisions, under Generals Butler, Twiggs, and Worth. The engineers reported that troops could be marched around to the northwest of the city, out of range of the guns on the heights and of the Black Fort, and seize the Saltillo road, which would cut off the enemy from the interior and from his base of supplies. Worth with his division was dispatched to accomplish this *coup*, while the other two divisions were drawn up to threaten the works on the east and north, and prevent their sending re-enforcements to those on the west. The real in-

tent of Worth's movement, however, does not seem to have been penetrated by the Mexicans. The former bivouacked that night on the heights to the northwest of the town, while his engineers—one of whom was Lieutenant George G. Meade, later the hero of Gettysburg—penetrated to the Saltillo road, finding the route feasible. Next day Worth reached this road, turned east, and captured the two heights on which were the forts, and was in virtual possession of the western side of the city. The same night General Taylor succeeded in raising an intrenchment and mounting it with two twenty-four-pounder howitzers and a ten-inch mortar within easy range of the Black Fort, Grant's regiment supporting the artillerists while on this duty. Grant himself was not present, however, having been ordered as regimental quartermaster to remain in charge of the public property at Walnut Springs. At daylight the enemy discovered the battery, and opened a brisk fire upon it, which was replied to with equal spirit. The cannonading acted like new wine on the blood of the young lieutenant in camp, and at length, unable to remain inactive while his comrades were fighting at fearful odds, he mounted and rode to the battlefield. Scarcely had he reached it when the command to charge was given, and he rushed forward with his regiment, almost the only man on horseback, and therefore a more conspicuous target. Rising out of a depression in front of the American batteries, the column met a decimating fire from the Black Fort, the redoubts at the eastern end of the city, and of musketry from the supports, which killed or disabled in a few mo-

ments fully one third of the force. The latter to escape it retreated not backward, but eastward toward the road running from Walnut Springs to the city, and when out of range halting. At this juncture Grant gave up his horse to Adjutant Hoskins, of his regiment, who, being in ill health, was unable to keep step with the ranks.

Soon shot began thinning the ranks again, the Mexican gunners having found their range, and the regiment once more fell back, this time to a field of corn northeast of the lower batteries. Adjutant Hoskins in this retreat was killed, and Lieutenant Grant was designated to perform his duties. This charge, it is true, was but a feint to divert attention from Worth's division—which, as we have seen, was engaged in the attack on the batteries of the Saltillo road—but it was illy advised and executed, since the Fourth, by making a detour, might have reached and attacked the eastern batteries without coming under the fire of the Black Fort. A portion of Garland's brigade did succeed in effecting a lodgment in the eastern quarter, as did Quitman's, and at about the same time that Worth from the Saltillo road captured the western defenses, so that on the eve of the 20th the eastern and western portions of the city were in the hands of the Americans, while the center, or plaza, and the Black Fort on the north were still held by the Mexicans. The city, however, had been invested. This state of affairs continued throughout the 22d, a regiment of Kentucky volunteers supporting the intrenchments opposite the Black Fort, and a company from each regiment guarding the camp at

Walnut Springs, to which it is to be presumed Lieutenant Grant returned after the fighting was over. On the night of the 23d the enemy evacuated the batteries which he still held on the east, concentrating his forces in the plaza and the Black Fort. The former, it will be remembered, was defended by its own intrenchments, and with the streets leading to it was commanded by infantry posted on the flat roofs of the houses. On the morning of the 23d Twigg's and Butler's troops in the city began advancing toward this plaza by streets running parallel with it and under cover of the houses, but at the street crossings they were exposed to a deadly fire of grapeshot and musketry from the plaza. The Third and Fourth Regiments, Lieutenant Grant marching with the latter, succeeded in advancing within a square of the plaza, although at a heavy loss, the Third especially losing five out of twelve officers present. At this point they were halted, and the men busied themselves with picking off the enemy from the roofs of the houses whenever they showed themselves above the parapet walls. While in this position Lieutenant Grant performed an act which militates against the commonly received opinion, fostered by his own modesty, that there was little of the martial fire and gallantry of the soldier in his composition.

The ammunition had given out, and Garland, unwilling to command any one to perform such perilous service, called for a volunteer to ride back to General Twiggs for a fresh supply. Grant promptly responded, and, bringing his skill in horsemanship into play, spurred his steed to his

Worth's was left behind with orders to march as soon as transportation for six days' rations and the necessary ammunition could be procured. It was important to leave the coast as soon as possible, for the dreaded *vomito* had already appeared. Santa Anna, President of Mexico, was commander in chief of her forces. Twiggs came upon him intrenched at Cerro Gordo, a high spur of the mountains some fifty miles west of Vera Cruz, and about fifteen east of Jalapa. At this point the road, said to have been the work of Cortes, ascends the mountain side by zigzags, with precipices on one side and sheer mountain walls on the other. Every angle in it was defended by artillery, supported by infantry. General Santa Anna deemed the position impregnable to front or flank attack, and so it seemed to the casual eye. Scott, however, turned it by superior strategy and the skill of his engineers. The latter, after a reconnoissance, reported that it was feasible to build a road by which the rear of the enemy's works could be gained, and Scott ordered the plan carried out. On the right, after nightfall, roads were constructed, now into deep chasms and again up precipices so steep that only men could scale them, and so silently as not to attract the notice of the enemy. When finished, cannon were let down on them into the chasms by ropes held in the hands of platoons of men, and by the same process pulled up the opposite slopes, and in this way transported to heights in the rear of the Mexican position and commanding it. The attack was made from these heights on the 18th, and proved a complete surprise, the Mexicans not hav-

ing dreamed of an enemy on the peaks above them. Assailed in both front and rear, the reserves hastily retreated, while those who had manned the intrenchments surrendered, some three thousand prisoners, besides heavy ordnance and stores, falling into the victors' hands. Cerro Gordo, as the place was called, was one of the most brilliant small affairs of this or of any war. No little of the credit attaching to it is due the engineer officers who found their way to the enemy's rear, Captain Robert E. Lee, Lieutenants Beauregard, Foster, McClellan, and Smith—names that became famous on later and larger fields. It should be borne in mind, however, that the victories of Taylor—particularly that of Buena Vista, gained after Grant left his command—by depleting and demoralizing the Mexican army, also greatly aided Scott in this and other battles before Mexico.

Immediately after Cerro Gordo the column moved on Jalapa, which yielded without resistance. Here the army found itself in a beautiful, salubrious, productive country, capable of supporting it without reference to any base of supplies. It was important, however, that the mountain passes beyond should be seized and held before the Mexicans could rally, and Worth's division was dispatched on this duty. It marched through the passes without opposition, and occupied the important town and castle of Perote, at the point where the road debouches from the mountains upon the great plain of the city of Mexico.

Scott with the main body remained behind. The term of enlistment of four thousand men was

about to expire, and, as they refused to re-enlist, it was necessary to await re-enforcements. It was August before these came, but as soon as they arrived the commander entered upon his final campaign. In the interim Worth's division had been pushed forward from Perote and had occupied Puebla, which now became Scott's base of operations against the city of Mexico.

His force moved upon the capital—some four days' march distant—in four divisions, commanded by Generals Pillow, Quitman, Twiggs, and Worth, and a cavalry corps under Colonel William S. Harney, composed of detachments of the First, Second, and Third Dragoons. The advance began on August 7th. On the third day the column gained the summit of the Rio Frio Mountain, eleven thousand feet above tide water, and as it moved down its western side caught glimpses of the great city and of its frowning defenses a few miles beyond, which they were to attack and carry.

Between it and them lay three lakes—Texcoco on the right, Chalco and Xochimilco on the left—stretching from the mountain's base to the eastern side of the city. Behind the latter the plain extended to the base of another mountain some six miles to the westward. Through their glasses Scott's engineers could discover some of the strong fortifications which rendered the city almost impregnable to a direct attack. Between Lakes Chalco and Texcoco ran a narrow thread of sand, which formed the bed of the direct road to the capital. On the right of this road rose a high and rocky mound, called El Peñon, which was strongly fortified by re-

doubts at both base and summit. The engineers, after approaching to within gunshot, saw that El Peñon made a direct approach impracticable, and directed their efforts to a flank movement, as at Cerro Gordo. They decided on an attack from the south and southwest by the south side of Lake Chalco. San Augustin Tlalpam, a small town eleven miles due south from the plaza of Mexico, was occupied on August 18th. Between it and the city lay the *hacienda* of San Antonio and the village of Churubusco, both strongly fortified, and southwest of them the strong fortress of Contreras, set in the midst of volcanic rocks near the base of a mountain which, ragged and broken with lava fragments, extended nearly to San Antonio. Garland's brigade, to which Lieutenant Grant was still attached, was advanced from San Augustin Tlalpam on the road to Churubusco and Mexico with instructions to menace San Antonio, but not to attack till further orders. The latter lay deep in the valley, but little above the level of the lakes, and with such natural barriers on either side that it could be attacked only in front, and then only along a narrow causeway, every foot of which was swept by the enemy's guns. In reconnoitering the position, Scott discovered that if Contreras, some three miles to the westward, were captured, the capital could be approached from that quarter and San Antonio turned. He decided, therefore, to attack this latter position first. Here again the skill of his engineers was brought into requisition. They completed a road during the day and night of the 19th, by which troops were moved to the north and west of the

stronghold, and next morning Contreras was carried by a sharp assault of half an hour, in which the whole army—except Garland's brigade, posted at San Antonio, and part of Quitman's division, stationed at San Augustin Tlalpam—were engaged or under arms as reserves.

Upon observing their success, General Garland's brigade moved forward, but found no enemy in its immediate front, and an hour later, receiving orders to advance on San Antonio, it found the village deserted. Meantime Clark's brigade, also of Worth's division, had moved west and north around San Antonio, and then turning east had reached the causeway leading to Chururbusco and the capital. Here its left struck a *tête-de-pont*, and brought on an engagement which soon became general, and which proved to be the severest conflict fought in the valley of Mexico. Garland's brigade soon came up from San Antonio and joined in the contest. At about the same time Scott reached the battlefield, and directed General James Shields to take two brigades and turn the enemy's right, which the latter succeeded in doing only after severe fighting. Whereupon the enemy fled, leaving behind artillery, prisoners, and small arms, and the victorious army swept along the causeways to the gates of the capital. It might easily have entered, but Nicholas P. Trist, a commissioner on the part of the United States, was in camp, and it was thought that negotiations for peace could better be carried on while the Mexican Government was in possession of its capital than if it were fugitive and scattered throughout the country. An armistice was therefore agreed

upon, and Mr. Trist opened negotiations with the Mexican commissioners. His ultimatum was the yielding of Texas absolutely and the cession of New Mexico and California for a stipulated sum. The Mexicans were so incensed at these terms that they broke the truce without giving due notice, and Scott in return declared the armistice at an end. Both parties now prepared for the final struggle.

The American army after the battle of Churubusco had taken position on the mountain slopes south of the city, its line extending west as far as the village of Tacubaya, some four miles southwest of the capital. Worth's division occupied that village, which was also the headquarters of General Scott. A little more than a mile west stood a long, low stone mill, known as Molino del Rey, whose flat roof parapeted with sand bags was defended by infantry. Farther north, in a direct line between Molino del Rey and the city, rose the stronghold of Chapultepec, a hill some three hundred feet high rising precipitously out of the plain, with its summit and rocky sides strongly fortified. The aqueduct that supplied Mexico with water ran from Molino del Rey past the western base of Chapultepec to the city through the center of a broad, smooth highway. There was another aqueduct leading from the eastern base of Chapultepec by a similar road. The arches of both aqueducts, it was seen, would afford cover for the attacking as well as the defending force. Across the roads here and there were thrown parapets, defended by a single gun with infantry supports for each. The roofs of some of the houses along the roads were also occupied by

armed men. Deep and wide ditches on both sides of the streets filled with water completed the defenses which Scott's army carried in the taking of Mexico. In these final battles the young lieutenant of the Fourth especially distinguished himself. He had served as quartermaster during the march inland with his accustomed energy and activity, on one occasion leading a foraging party guarded by one thousand men far into the enemy's country in quest of supplies. At this early stage of his career he gave proofs of that executive ability which later distinguished him and was no inconsiderable element of his success. As quartermaster he was exempt from service in the field, but when his regiment went into battle Grant divested himself of his clerical office and marched and fought at the front.

Scott began his final attack on Mexico on the morning of September 8th by ordering Worth to attack Molino del Rey. He made a gallant charge, the guns of Chapultepec playing upon his troops as they advanced, but, unheeding the iron hail, they entered the mill by every door, and either captured the defenders or drove them in precipitate flight toward Chapultepec. Among the first to enter the mill was Lieutenant Grant. In passing through the door, he noticed Mexicans still on the roof, and seeing no stairways or other means of reaching the latter, he took a file of men, and placing a cart with the shafts uppermost against the walls, he and his force clambered by means of it to the roof. There he found a Mexican major and several other minor officers and privates guarded by a single American soldier, who had reached the spot in advance of his com-

mander and demanded and received their surrender. Batteries were now established, and on the morning of the 12th opened fire on Chapultepec. The next morning this strong position was carried by two columns of Pillow's brigade of two hundred and fifty men each, headed by Captains Samuel McKenzie and Silas Casey.

The advance on the city gates, Belen and San Cosme, along the aqueduct roads, was now ordered. Worth's division, with which marched the Fourth, had the advance on the San Cosme or westernmost road, while General Quitman commanded the column directed against Belen. Lieutenant Grant was in the front rank of skirmishers on the San Cosme road; besides himself, there were but three other commissioned officers in command of the attacking force. Sheltering themselves behind the arches of the aqueduct and springing from arch to arch, the troops met no serious resistance until they reached the road running east into the city to the San Cosme gate, which road the aqueduct followed. Here they were halted for a time by a gun planted in the angle of the road and supported by troops on the housetops in the rear. Lieutenant Grant, looking about for means to turn this position, saw a house in the southwest angle of the east and north roads, the yard of which was inclosed by a heavy stone wall abutting on both roads and also extending across from one to the other, inclosing a kind of triangle. Making a private reconnoissance, he saw that under cover of this wall his troops might pass the gun in the angle and gain the east road beyond it, thus turning the position.

Hastening back, he called for volunteers, and, followed by all within hearing, he pushed forward toward the east road. About halfway across he came upon a body of United States troops under Captain Horace Brooks of the artillery, who had come up since his reconnoissance under cover of a shallow ditch near by. Briefly explaining to Brooks his purpose, the latter told him to move on and he would follow. He did so and gained the road, the result being that the gunners in the angle and those on the housetops beat a hasty retreat, the Americans pursuing them with such vigor that another parapet halfway to the gate was carried and held for a time; but re-enforcements not coming up, it was abandoned, to be retaken later with loss.

A second time during the day the young lieutenant gave evidence of those powers which later were exhibited on wider fields. In the afternoon, as the army drew nearer the gates, he was again reconnoitering, and discovered a church to the southward of the road, the steeple of which he judged would command the rear of the gate San Cosme. Securing an officer of *voltigeurs* with a mountain howitzer and a sufficient number of soldiers to man it, he led them across the fields over ditches and stiles to the church, and, forcing an entrace, succeeded in mounting the howitzer in the steeple, whence it soon began to play upon the astounded defenders of the San Cosme. The latter might have sent a company and captured the gun, which was entirely unsupported, but that would have been sacrilege. Worth from his position saw the effect produced by this *coup*, and was so pleased that

he sent Pemberton—later in command of Vicksburg against General Grant—to bring the commander of the gun to him, and on Grant's appearance thanked him for the service performed, and ordered another howitzer, with men to work it, sent to the steeple, which, however, Lieutenant Grant did not use, as there was not sufficient space in the belfry for a second gun. For this exploit the young lieutenant received special mention in the reports of three officers—General Worth, Colonel Garland, and Major Francis Lee, commanding the Fourth Infantry, who said that Grant behaved with "distinguished gallantry," while Garland, who led the brigade, commended the young soldier for "acquitting himself most nobly on several occasions." For this action Grant received the brevet of captain for "gallant and meritorious conduct," awarded in 1849, but not confirmed until 1850. His first lieutenantcy dated from September, 1847.

On the night of September 13th the American line of battle confronted the Mexican from the gate San Cosme to the Belen gate, and an assault was imminent. That night, however, Santa Anna evacuated the city, first turning loose the convicts and other desperadoes to prey upon the invaders. Next morning the victorious Americans entered and took possession, Worth's command being quartered in the Alameda, the beautiful park of the city, and Quitman's taking possession of the plaza and the Capitol, the latter a mass of buildings on the east side, in which the Government departments were situated, known locally as the Palace, and sometimes called in literature the "Halls of the

Montezumas." The convicts which had been released by Santa Anna fired upon the Americans as they entered, killing, among others, Lieutenant Sidney Smith, of the Fourth Regiment, by whose death our young soldier rose to the grade of first lieutenant. A little later Scott rode into Mexico in state, and from the Capitol issued such orders as restored tranquillity to the city.

The campaign in Mexico was ended. Lieutenant Grant passed through it with honor. As he himself said, he was in every battle possible for one man to be in. He received special mention in four different army reports, and he was one of that small band of West Point graduates of whom General Scott later said, before a congressional committee, "I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets the war between the United States and Mexico would have lasted four or five years, with, in its first half, more defeats than victories fallen to our share. . . . In less than two campaigns we conquered a great country and à peace without the loss of a single battle or a skirmish." This record should be dwelt upon, because in much that has been written of him too great stress has been laid on the obscure period of his career from which he emerged to become the cynosure of all eyes, whereas this sixteen months' campaign rendered him the tried soldier and discovered and trained those great qualities which were later so signally displayed for the salvation of his country. He believed the war an unholy one, urged by the pro-slavery party to win territory for the creation of new slave States, but entered upon it with the re-

solve to do his whole duty. Years after, Grant said: "I do not think there ever was a more wicked war waged than that by the United States on Mexico. I thought so at the time, when I was a youngster, only I had not moral courage enough to resign." It was certainly a war of plunder and extreme injustice. This was the opinion of both Scott and Taylor. The war was so essentially in the interest of the slaveholding section of the country that it was strongly opposed by the free States of the North. When, in February, 1847, a member of the Senate asserted that the Mexicans should welcome our army, Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, eloquently replied, "If I were a Mexican as I am an American, I would welcome them with bloody hands to hospitable graves!"

From the field Grant wrote to his father at the commencement of the war: "I do not mean you shall ever hear of my shirking my duty in battle. My new post of quartermaster is considered to afford an officer an opportunity to be relieved from fighting, but I do not and can not see it in that light. You have always taught me that the post of danger is the post of duty." After the war Grant said to a friend: "It was a mere accident that put me in the army. I had not much fight in me, and did not wish to go to the war. I thought of being a teacher or a farmer, and I thought of going to sea; but of all possible futures that I dreamed of before going to West Point, being a soldier was not one of them."

General Longstreet, in a letter to the author, says: "When the army of occupation assembled at

Corpus Christi, Tex., in the autumn of 1845, that country was wilder and more remote from the civilized parts of the globe than the wildest parts of the Rocky Mountains of the present day. The Government was so strict in the management of its finances that it never provided transportation for books, and mails were only allowed once or, by chance, twice a week. The only change the young officers had from the routine of drill and preparation for the war anticipated with Mexico was the frequent visits at our camps of Indians with mustang horses just captured from the wild herds of the prairies. The price of the animals was from two and a half to five dollars. They were ponies usually, but occasionally a good-sized animal was brought in.

"On one occasion, when Grant happened at my tent, a fine-sized animal, of rich yellow color, was brought up. Grant fancied him, paid the highest price, had the blindfold put on, then the bridle and saddle. These, with the spurs of the times, were of the Mexican style, and when properly adjusted nothing could move the saddle or turn it to either side. The weight of the horse could be pulled by a lariat tied to the saddle. When the horse was ready, Grant put on the Mexican spurs, mounted, and ordered the blindfold off. The frightened animal bounded like a bull, threw his head to the ground, reared, and leaped. Grant drove in the heavy spurs, and the horse ran for the *chaparral.* A free rein was given him and more of the spur, and horse and rider disappeared in the brush. No anxiety was felt, for Grant was known as an accomplished horseman. In about an hour and a half the

horse and rider returned, both well tired; the horse, in a foam, came up in a gentle walk."

Grant ridiculed the idea that he could be unhorsed so long as the animal stood on his feet. He asked but one thing of a steed, and that was that he should go along. No Mexican *vaquero*, American cowboy, or Bedouin *sheik* had a firmer seat or more resembled a centaur. During the campaign he mounted a wild stallion that was saddled for the first time. Grant writes: " I had, however, but little difficulty in breaking him, although for the first day there were frequent disagreements between us as to which way we should go, and sometimes as to whether we should go at all. At no time during the day could I choose exactly the part of the column I would march with, but after that I had as tractable a horse as any with the army." During the occupation of the capital a Mexican gentleman with whom Grant was on terms of intimacy requested the loan of the fiery and spirited stallion. Grant said afterward, " I was afraid he could not ride the horse, and yet I knew if I said a word to that effect the suspicious Spanish nature would think I was unwilling to lend him." The result was the unfortunate Mexican mounted the stallion, was thrown before he had gone three blocks, and killed on the spot.

Two incidents of Grant's association with the Fourth Infantry, and also two of the general's anecdotes of officers connected with the regiment, may appropriately conclude this chapter. While drilling his company at Jefferson Barracks, General Garland, then in command, approached with some friends,

and, halting, said, "Where are the rest of your men, lieutenant?" "Absent, by your leave, sir," answered Grant. "That is not true," remarked the general. Instantly the young officer ordered the first sergeant to take command of the company, and then, placing the point of his sword at Garland's breast, said, "Unless you apologize at once for this insult, I will run you through." This sobered the general, the apology was promptly made, and it is pleasant to record that they were ever after friends.

At Camp Salubrity, where the Fourth was ordered when the yellow fever appeared in New Orleans in May, 1846, the summer was spent agreeably in visiting the planters on the Red River, the families of Grand Ecore and Natchitoches, and in occasional trips to Fort Jesup, a distance of about twenty-five miles, which Grant rode in one instance on a wager in less than two hours. Among the amusements of the summer the officers of the Fourth appeared in the play of Othello for the entertainment of the many friends from whom hospitalities had been received. The part of the Moor was taken by Lieutenant Haslett, while Grant appeared as Desdemona. One of the few survivors of the regiment who was present remembers that the heroine's part was well represented, and that many of the young Acadians, who had never before seen a play, were enthusiastic over the performance.

When the Fourth was ordered to march from Corpus Christi, stringent orders were issued by General Taylor against overloading the wagons, and officers were requested to reduce their baggage to the lowest amount possible. The colonel, inspect-

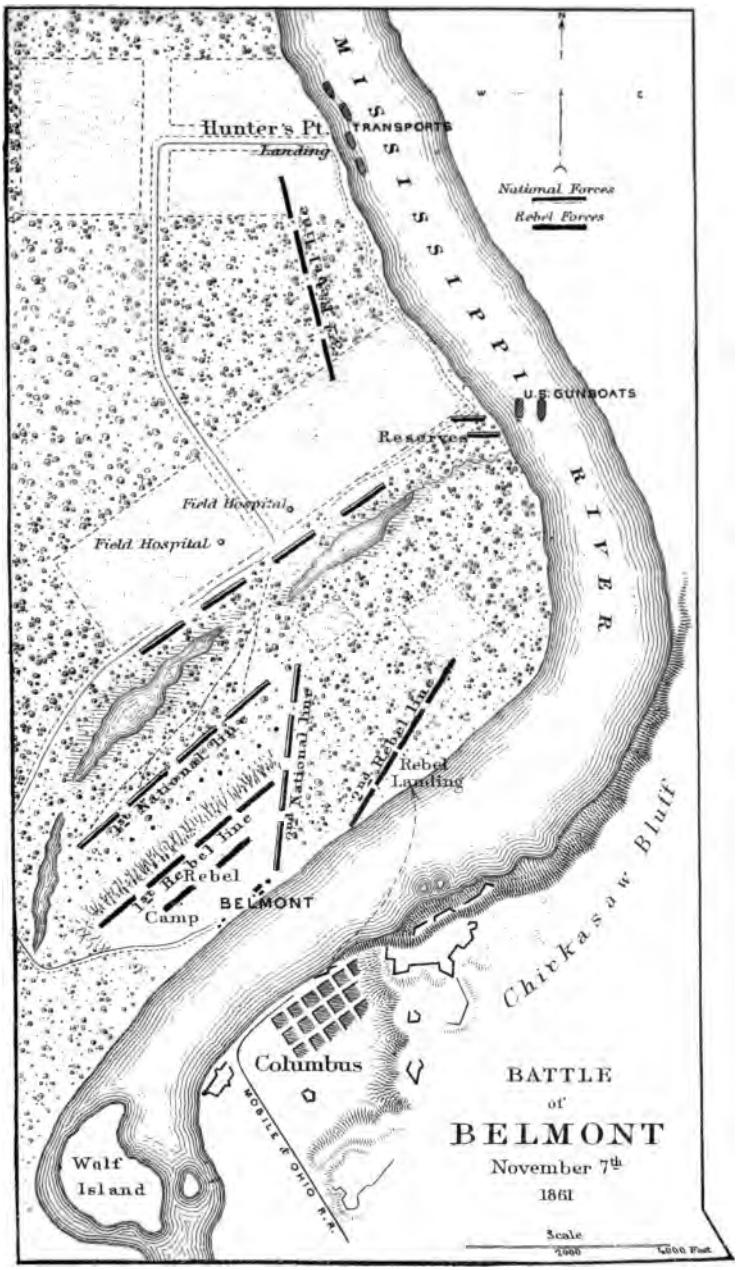
ing the wagons of his command before starting, discovered a small bookcase containing a few favorite volumes belonging to a young officer of literary tastes. "That will never do, Mr. Graham. We can not encumber our train with such rubbish as books," and so they were left behind. The colonel next met Adjutant Hoskins, who had just seen the books taken out, and who said, in a deprecatory manner, that not being well, and requiring a stimulant, he had taken the liberty of putting a small keg of whisky in the wagon. "Oh, that is all right, Mr. Hoskins, anything in reason, but Graham wanted to carry books!"

Grant's other anecdote was of a good-natured, careless brother officer, who possessed little or nothing of his own, taking, during Lieutenant Graham's absence, his fine horse, dog, and gun, and going out for a day's shooting. In the course of the day he rode the horse down to a slough to drink, the bank gave way, a hind leg was caught in the root of a tree, and the horse was drowned. The lieutenant lost the gun in removing the saddle and bridle, which he carried back to camp after a long tramp, in the course of which the dog was badly hurt by some wild animal. When Graham expostulated rather strongly on the loss of his property, which had been taken without leave or license, the delinquent, with an aggrieved air, answered, "Well, didn't I nearly kill myself carrying your saddle and bridle back for six or seven miles?" The general found the telling of this little story a somewhat difficult achievement, so comical did the circumstances always appear to strike him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF BELMONT.

AFTER the signing of the treaty of peace with Mexico in April, 1848, the Fourth Infantry returned to the United States, and in the following August our hero was married to Miss Julia Dent, of St. Louis, a sister of one of his West Point classmates. They became acquainted soon after Grant was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, and when the young lady of seventeen had just completed her course at a fashionable school. The young officer, about four years her senior, became a frequent guest at her father's house, a few miles west of St. Louis. He was then known among the young ladies as the "pretty little lieutenant" and the "little blue-eyed beauty," possessing, as he did at that time, a clear white-and-pink complexion. Before Grant's departure for Mexico the young soldier was accepted, and their marriage occurred soon after the close of the war. In September they went to Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., remaining there until the following spring, when Grant was ordered to Detroit, Mich., where two uneventful years were passed in the monotonous duties of garrison life in time of peace.


Hunter's Pt.
Landing
TRANSPORTS
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
National Forces
Rebel Forces
U.S. GUNBOATS
Reserves
Field Hospital
Field Hospital
Rebel Landing
Camp
BELMONT
Chickasaw Bluff
Columbus
Wolf Island
BATTLE
of
BELMONT
November 7th
1861
Scale
2000
6000 Feet

He was the quartermaster and commissary of the regiment, which was stationed along the Canadian frontiers with headquarters at Detroit. Subsequently the Fourth was ordered to Sackett's Harbor, and a year later to Governor's Island, N. Y., *en route* for the Pacific coast, the discovery of gold in California in 1849, and consequent influx of emigrants, rendering the presence of additional troops necessary. In July, 1852, eight companies, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville, embarked on the steamer Ohio for Aspinwall, where the troops crossed the Isthmus to Panama, and then proceeded up the coast by another steamer to San Francisco.

The transit of the Isthmus entailed great labor on Captain Grant, who was again acting as quartermaster and commissary. The railroad was then completed only to the crossing of the Chagres River. From that point the route was by boats up the river to Gorgona, and then twenty-five miles on mule-back over the mountains to Panama. The regiment, except one company, which was left to guard the camp equipage, and the soldiers with families, went forward by boats to Gorgona, and thence marched to Panama. Quartermaster Grant, with the detailed company, the women and children, tents, mess chests, and camp kettles, was ordered to proceed to Cruces, a town farther up the river than Gorgona, where transportation in the form of pack mules had been provided. On arriving at Cruces, however, Grant found that the contractor had not and could not procure the necessary mules, the great number of gold hunters and large amount of freight then pouring across the Isthmus having created

a great demand for all beasts of burden. To add to his embarrassment, cholera appeared among his command. To escape it, the detailed company was sent on to Panama with the doctors, and Grant was left alone with the married soldiers and women and children. Meantime he had made a new contract with a native at a greatly increased price, and, after a week's delay, enough animals were secured to transport all to Panama. At Cruces and on the way to the coast nearly one third of his command died with the cholera.

Arriving at Panama, they found that the steamer would not sail until the pestilence had abated, lest once at sea she should become a floating charnel house. They were therefore forced to wait amid tropical heat and rains several weeks longer. At length, the pestilence having measurably abated, the steamer proceeded on her way, and reached San Francisco without incident early in September. Mrs. Grant, having been left behind at her father's house in St. Louis with her infant son Frederick, escaped these privations. The Fourth found in San Francisco a pasteboard city, which had sprung up in a day, and was filled with eager adventurers of all classes and nationalities. The regiment was quartered for a time at Benicia Barracks, but was soon ordered to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, in what was then Oregon Territory, Washington not having been organized. In these wastes Captain Grant remained nearly a year, or until the death of General Taylor's son-in-law, Colonel Bliss, of the adjutant general's department, July 5, 1853, promoted him to the captaincy of a company then

stationed at Humboldt Bay, in California. Thither in September of the same year he proceeded *via* San Francisco, and entered upon the duties of his new command.

By the spring of 1854 the enforced idleness and isolation of his life at Humboldt had become almost unendurable. His family—the latter increased by the birth of a second son while he was on the Isthmus—were still at St. Louis, the husband and father being unable on his slender pay as an army officer to support them on the Pacific coast, where the cost of living at that time was so great that his means would have been totally inadequate to maintain a household.

With no war in prospect and little hope of promotion, Grant determined to resign and return to his family in St. Louis. Accordingly, in March, 1854, after an interview with Colonel Buchanan, he sent to the proper authorities an application for leave of absence until the July following, and inclosed his resignation, to date from the end of that month. To a member of the regiment he said before his departure, "Whoever hears of me in ten years will hear of a well-to-do Western farmer." Arriving in San Francisco, Grant was grievously disappointed in his expectation of receiving two sums of money that were due him, amounting to nearly three thousand dollars, which he never succeeded in collecting. One of his debtors was absent from the city; the other, who later became an admiral of our navy, was unable to discharge the indebtedness. To the kindness of Lieutenant Buckner Grant was indebted for a loan of the necessary

amount to enable him to reach his family. This sum was promptly repaid with funds advanced by a friend in the East. He sailed for New York, and reached St. Louis late in August, 1854.

His career during the next six years proved how difficult it was for one of military training to succeed in civil life. He began first as a tiller of the soil, his wife having a small farm near the city, which his father aided him to stock and on which, largely with his own labor, he built a house. Between the intervals of farm work he carried wood to the St. Louis market. He might have succeeded in time, but his old enemy, the fever and ague, which had troubled him while a youth in Ohio, seized him again, and in 1858 forced him to remove from the farm. His next venture was a partnership in the real-estate business in St. Louis with a cousin of Mrs. Grant. At the same time he became a candidate for the lucrative office of county engineer, but failed to secure it, his rival being a citizen of the county, while he was not. His real-estate business did not prove immediately profitable, and, as he must have present support for his family, he soon relinquished it to his partner, and accepted a nominal clerkship in the leather house which his father had established, and which his two younger brothers were now conducting in Galena, Ill. In a letter addressed to the author, dated Covington, Ky., March 20, 1868, the elder Grant writes: "After Ulysses's farming and real-estate experiments failed to be self-supporting, he came to me at this place for advice and assistance. I referred him to Simpson, my next oldest son, who

had charge of my Galena business, and who was staying with me at that time on account of poor health. Simpson sent him to the Galena store to stay until something better should turn up in his favor, and told him he would be allowed a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum. . . . That amount would have supported his family then, but he owed debts at St. Louis, and did draw fifteen hundred dollars in the year, but he soon paid back the balance after he went into the army."

As an army officer he had never voted, and had taken little interest in politics. His first vote for President had been cast for James Buchanan in 1856, not so much because he admired the man or favored the principles of his party, but because he had no confidence in the capacity of Colonel Fremont, and he saw clearly that the election of the Republican candidate meant the secession of all the slave States, whereas if a Democrat were elected the South could have no pretext for seceding, and four years more of peace would be assured, in which time he hoped the passions of men would have cooled and reason have resumed her sway. At the presidential election of 1860, he had not gained a residence in Illinois, and could not vote, but his sympathies were with the Republican party. He took no part in the presidential campaign except to teach the Republican organization—the Wide Awakes—how to drill in their rooms. Abraham Lincoln was elected in November, 1860, and, without further provocation, the Southern States, soon after his inauguration, seized the national property, fired upon the flag, and declared themselves out of

the Union. It was evident that the time for patriots to draw the sword had come. Grant's opportunity had at last arrived.

For some weeks, in the stir and bustle of warlike preparations—" the mighty and puissant nation, rousing itself like a strong man from sleep "—the undemonstrative clerk in the leather store at Galena was overlooked. He was not in politics, and politics had much to do with the organization of the army in 1861. He was not the man to obtrude his merits or army record upon those in authority, and the many who did were preferred to him. At the age of thirty-nine Grant was, as has been seen, an obscure man, whose career his best friend would have been compelled to confess was a conspicuous failure. The man would himself have honestly indorsed that opinion. He had tried many things and succeeded in none. Few lives were more uneventful, secluded, and even obscure until he had passed the period when Burns and Byron died, and the age when Wolfe and McPherson fell gloriously at Quebec and Atlanta. Like Moltke before Sadowa, Grant was unknown to his contemporaries until the world rang with his fame so fairly won at Fort Donelson and on the heights of Vicksburg. Within four years he emerged from the obscurity of a Mississippi town to a proud position among the most celebrated commanders of the century, certainly not surpassed by any living soldier, controlling larger armies than Napoleon commanded in the days of his greatest glory. Within another decade the man of whom we write was twice chosen chief of our republic, and a few years later, in his

tour around the world, the welcome guest of the greatest of the earth, receiving from them such honors as were never before or since extended to an American. Then came the sad end, and such a public funeral in the nation's chief city as had never been seen in the New World. Nearly twelve years later, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth, the great commander's honored remains were removed with imposing ceremonial, in the presence of the President of the republic, and placed in a magnificent tomb, unequaled by any ever erected for a soldier. No novelist would dream of inventing such a marvelous story. It would seem too improbable even for the pages of fiction. History supplies few, if any, examples of equally sudden, brilliant, and enduring fame.

Grant saw clearly the great question at issue between the North and the South, and his one idea, like Lincoln's, was to save the Union. His steadfast soul clung to that thought with a grim tenacity that could be expressed only in some such words as St. Paul's when he said, "This one thing I do." Within four years nearly half a million of men slept in their graves that the Union might be preserved and the nation freed from the curse of slavery. No man contributed more to that mighty achievement than the modest clerk of Galena, of whose existence even the member of Congress from that district was entirely ignorant the April day our flag fell at Fort Sumter.

Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand volunteers on April 15th, two days after the fall of Fort Sumter. "The proclamation," says Mr. Blaine, "was responded to in the loyal States with an unparalleled burst of enthusiasm. On the day of its

issue hundreds of public meetings were held from the eastern border of Maine to the extreme Western frontier. Work was suspended on farm and in factory, and the whole people were aroused to patriotic ardor, and to a determination to subdue the rebellion and restore the Union whatever might be the expenditure of treasure or the sacrifice of life." When news of the President's call for troops reached Galena, a public meeting was held, and a second immediately followed, over which Captain Grant was chosen to preside. He briefly and with some embarrassment stated the objects of their being assembled together on that evening, and said, " I am in for the war and shall stay until this wicked rebellion is crushed at the cannon's mouth." Patriotic addresses followed by Elihu B. Washburne and John A. Rawlins, a well-known Democratic lawyer of Galena.

A company was raised in part at this second meeting, the command of which when completed was tendered Grant, but he declined, with the hope of receiving the colonelcy of an Illinois regiment, or a similar position in the United States army, which he greatly preferred. Grant, however, consented to take charge of the company, called the Jo Daviess Guards, and instruct it how to drill; he even accompanied it in this capacity to Springfield, the capital of the State. Richard Yates was then Governor of Illinois, a man of sterling integrity, a statesman and orator, who was a fit colleague for Andrews, of Massachusetts, Buckingham, of Connecticut, Morgan, of New York, Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Morton, of Indiana, and other " war governors " who might be named.

Yates's fiber was shown by his reply to a constituent who had written to know what he should do if his disloyal neighbor pulled down the American flag—"Shoot him as you would a dog, and I will pardon you for the offense!" replied Yates. Grant was introduced by letter to Governor Yates by Elihu B. Washburne, representative from the Galena district, as a West Point graduate and a veteran of the Mexican War. The Governor said, "Do you know how many men it takes to make a company, and how many to make a regiment, and what officers each must have?" "Perfectly," replied Grant. "Well," said the Governor, "I want you to take a chair in my office and assist the adjutant general of the State." Captain Grant remained in this subordinate capacity several weeks, mustering in most of the sixteen regiments which formed the States's quota.

While thus engaged he visited his family at Covington, Ky., for a few days. In the interim a townsman of Grant's called upon the Governor, and the latter in the course of the interview said: "What kind of a man is this Grant? He has been educated at West Point, and says he wants to go into the army. Several regiments have offered to elect him colonel, but he says 'No,' and declines to be a candidate. What does he want?" "Grant has only served in the regular army, where they have no elections, officers being promoted according to seniority," replied the friend. "Whatever place you have for him, appoint the captain without consulting him, and you will find he will accept any position to which he is assigned."

Acting on this suggestion, the Governor commissioned him colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers. Grant *had* desired a commission in the regular army. Previous to this, while at home in Galena for a short visit, he had written to Adjutant-General Thomas at Washington, saying that, having had fifteen years' service in the army, including four years at the Military Academy, he felt competent, in view of his present age and length of service, to command a regiment if the President in his judgment should see fit to intrust one to him. He hesitated to suggest rank as high as a colonelcy, he wrote after the war, having some doubt as to whether he was equal to the position, but, having seen most of the colonels who had been mustered in from the States of Illinois and Indiana, he thought that if they could command a regiment properly he could, and so made the application.* No reply was ever

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* GALENA, ILL., *May* 24, 1861.

SIR: Having served for fifteen years in the regular army, including four years at West Point, and feeling it the duty of every one who has been educated at the Government expense to offer their services for the support of that Government, I have the honor very respectfully to tender my services until the close of the war in such capacity as may be offered. I would say, in view of my present age and length of service, I feel myself competent to command a regiment if the President in his judgment should see fit to intrust one to me. Since the first call of the President I have been serving on the staff of the Governor of this State, rendering such aid as I could in the organization of our State militia, and am still engaged in that capacity. A letter addressed to me at Springfield, Ill., will reach me. I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

Colonel L. THOMAS, *Adjutant General U. S. A., Washington D. C.*

received to it, and none was written. Long after the war General E. D. Townsend, who had become adjutant general, while packing papers preparatory to a removal of his office in Washington, discovered the letter in an out-of-the-way place. It had never been seen by Lincoln or by the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, perhaps not even by General Thomas. Grant now accepted the commission from Governor Yates, and proceeded to Mattoon, where the Twenty-first had been mustered in, to take command. It was suggested that John A. Logan and others should make speeches on the occasion of Grant assuming the colonelcy. The programme was carried out, when there were loud calls for Colonel Grant. He stepped forward and made an effective speech of four words, "Go to your quarters!" Yates was subsequently very proud of this act, and claimed to have been the first to "discover" General Grant. "God gave him to his country," said he on one occasion, "and I signed his first commission." Then, lifting his right hand to heaven, he exclaimed, "And it was the most glorious day of my life when these fingers signed that commission!" Mr. Washburne, by whose influence Grant was later commissioned brigadier general of volunteers by President Lincoln, was a rival claimant for the honor of discovering him.

Before receiving his commission as colonel, bearing date June 15, 1861, Grant went to Cincinnati to visit Major-General McClellan, then in command of Ohio troops, who had shared his quarters for three months at Fort Vancouver. The two had served together in Mexico, and, although Grant

had no intention of making an application for a position on his staff, he still hoped that McClellan might offer him one. He went twice to headquarters, but did not see the general, who was absent in Washington, and returned to Illinois without mentioning his aspirations to any one. Grant had also applied unsuccessfully to Captain Lyon and Colonel Blair in St. Louis, and to Governor Morton, of Indiana, who told him that the State's quota of six regiments were all officered. When his commission was handed to him by Governor Yates, he immediately accepted it and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. Removing the regiment from their place of organization, Mattoon, to Caseyville, he superintended their drill, improved their discipline, and not long after he marched his men, in default of railroad transportation, one hundred and twenty miles to Quincy, on the Mississippi, which was supposed to be in danger. Thence he moved under orders to defend the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph's Railroad in Missouri, and here, coming into contact with other regiments commanded by volunteer officers, his military education and experience pointed to him, although the youngest colonel of the combined forces, as acting brigadier general of this force; his headquarters on July 31st were at Mexico, about fifty miles north of the Missouri River. On August 7th he was commissioned by the President brigadier general of volunteers, to date from May 17th, his first knowledge of his promotion coming to him from the newspapers of the day. As one of the few regular officers among the Illinois troops, his name had been suggested to

Mr. Lincoln by Washburne for a brigadier generalship, and the recommendation was unanimously concurred in by all the other members of Congress from Illinois. He was seventeenth in a list of thirty-four original appointments of that date.

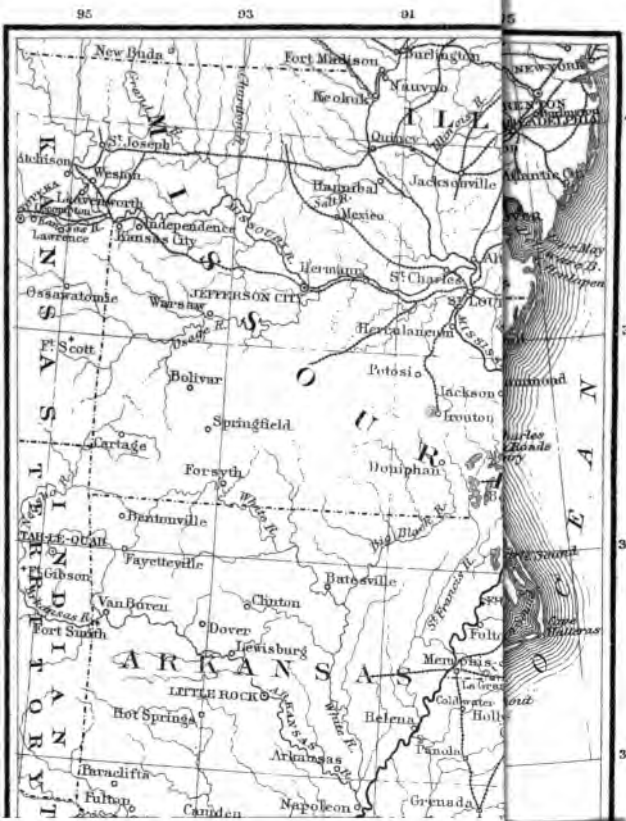
Grant at this time was thirty-nine years of age, below the medium height, with a countenance indicative of reserve and indomitable will. He was careless in dress, but a strict disciplinarian, as illustrated by the following incident narrated by Chaplain Crane of his regiment. "I was walking," he says, "over the camp with him one morning after breakfast; it was usual for each company to call the roll at a given hour; it was now probably a half hour after the time for that duty. The colonel was quietly smoking his old meerschaum and talking and walking along when he noticed a company drawn up in line and the roll being called. He instantly drew his pipe from his mouth and exclaimed, 'Captain, this is no time for calling the roll; order your men to their quarters immediately.' The command was instantly obeyed, and the colonel resumed his smoking, and walked on, conversing as quietly as if nothing had happened. For this violation of discipline those men went without rations that day, except what they gathered up privately from among their friends of other companies. Such a breach of order was never witnessed in the regiment afterward while he was its colonel. This promptness is one of Grant's characteristics, and it is one of the secrets of his success."

Some of his punishments were peculiar but effective. The chaplain continues: "On one of our

marches, when passing through one of those small towns where the grocery is the principal establishment, some of the lovers of intoxication had broken away from our lines and filled their canteens with whisky, and were soon reeling and ungovernable under its influence. While apparently stopping the regiment for rest, Grant passed quietly along and took each canteen, and wherever he detected the fatal odor emptied the liquor on the ground with as much nonchalance as he would empty his pipe, and had the offenders tied behind the baggage wagons until they had sobered into soldierly propriety. On this point his orders were imperative; no whisky or intoxicating beverages were allowed in his camp."

Having been promoted, as we have seen, Grant's connection with the Twenty-first Regiment ceased after he had held command for about two months. The colonel's account of his service with it concludes as follows: "We did make one march, however, from Salt River, Mo., to Florida, Mo., in search of Tom Harris, who was reported to be in that neighborhood with a handful of rebels. From Salt River the regiment went to Mexico, Mo., where it remained for two weeks, thence to Ironton, passing through St. Louis on the 7th of August, where I was assigned to duty as a brigadier general, and turned over the command of the regiment to that gallant Christian officer, Colonel Alexander, who yielded up his life while nobly leading it in the battle of Chickamauga."

After serving under Pope in what was known as the "District of Northern Missouri," and being stationed at Ironton and Jefferson City, occupied


95
93
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New Buda
Fort Madison
Burlington
Nauvoo
Keokuk
Quincy
St. Joseph
Atchison
Weston
Lawrenworth
Independence
Kansas City
Lawrence
Hannibal
Mexico
Jacksonville
Hermann
St. Charles
Ossawatomie
Warsaw
JEFFERSON CITY
Ft. Scott
Bolivar
Springfield
Cartage
Forsyth
Bentonville
Fayetteville
Gibson
Van Buren
Fort Smith
Clinton
Dover
Lewisburg
Batesville
Potosi
Jackson
Ironton
Doniphan
Memphis
LITTLE ROCK
Hot Springs
Arkansas
Paraclifta
Fulton
Camden
Napoleon
Helena
Panola
Grenada
Cape Hatteras
ARKANSAS
MISSOURI
INDIAN TERRITORY
OCEAN

in watching the movements of partisan forces of Confederates under General Jeff. Thompson, Grant was on September 1st assigned by General Fremont, commanding the Western Department, to the command of the District of Southeast Missouri, and on the 4th made his headquarters at Cairo, situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The district included not only the region from which it takes its name, but the southern part of Illinois, and so much of Kentucky and Tennessee as might fall into the possession of national forces, and comprised the junction of Cumberland, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers. A glance at the map discloses the strategetic importance of Cairo, as a base of operations for a Southern advance, and of vital importance in the line of defense for the rich and extensive area of country lying between the Ohio and Mississippi. It was also of great value as an inland naval depot, as a point for fitting out river expeditions, and for the transportation of supplies.

In connection with his new assignment, Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General under Lincoln, made a statement after the war, bringing together for the first time the names of the war President and General Grant. Said Mr. Blair: "One day, in Cabinet meeting, Lincoln turned to the Secretary of War and asked, 'Did we not receive a communication some time last spring from a man named Grant, out at Springfield, forwarded by Governor Yates, laying out a plan of campaign down the Mississippi?' The Secretary replied that he believed such a paper had been received. The President requested him to have it looked up, which was

done, and it was read in Cabinet meeting. It made a strong impression on all its members, Lincoln remarking that at the time it was received it had impressed him favorably, but in the multiplicity of cares it had been forgotten till now, when he had received a communication from Representative Washburne calling attention to General Grant, and suggesting that he be sent to Cairo. Lincoln then said, 'Mr. Secretary, send an order to General Fremont to put Grant in command of the District of Southeast Missouri.'"

At the time that General Grant was transferred from Missouri to the post of Cairo the State of Kentucky was endeavoring to maintain a neutral position—a neutrality never recognized by the United States authority. The Confederates under General Polk were the first to cross the Kentucky line, taking possession of Columbus and Hickman on the Mississippi, and Bowling Green on the Green River, all of which places they fortified, also fortifying the Tennessee at Fort Henry and the Cumberland at Fort Donelson. Grant was not slow to follow their example. Fremont had ordered a movement in Missouri, which he was to superintend, and had directed the construction of Fort Holt, when Grant, learning of the advance of Polk, at once notified his commanding officer, and later in the day, having received additional information, he telegraphed to Fremont, at St. Louis, "I am getting ready to go to Paducah; will start at six and a half o'clock." Still later on September 5th, he wrote, "I am now nearly ready for Paducah, should not telegram arrive preventing the movement." Re-

ceiving no reply, Grant started at half-past ten that night, with two regiments and a light battery, together with two gunboats—the naval force at Cairo being under his control—arriving there early the following morning, and taking possession of the town without firing a gun, the Confederates under General Tilghman hurrying out of town by railroad while the Union forces were landing. Grant was just in time to obtain possession of this valuable position, a large force of several thousand of the enemy being within a few hours' march of Paducah. After issuing a proclamation to the inhabitants, informing them of his reasons for taking possession of the town, and that he was prepared to defend the citizens against the enemy, adding significantly that he had nothing to do with opinions, but should deal only with armed rebellion, its aiders and abettors, he returned to Cairo. On his arrival at his headquarters, Grant found a dispatch from Fremont, giving his permission that the movement against Paducah should be made "if he felt strong enough." Soon after the capture of Paducah, Smithland, near the mouth of the Cumberland, was occupied by Grant's forces, two points of vital importance to the enemy as a gateway of supplies and as controlling the mouths of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers.

When Grant was assigned to the command of the District of Southeast Missouri, General McClernand's brigade with other troops were added to his force, until by the end of October his command amounted to nearly twenty thousand men. As early as September 10th he suggested the feasibility of

capturing Columbus, an important position on the Mississippi, about twenty miles below Cairo, stating to General Fremont that, "if it was discretionary with me, with a little addition to my present force, I would take Columbus." No notice was taken of this application, and, being kept strictly subordinate to the commander of the Western Department, he was compelled to confine himself to drilling and disciplining his troops and making reconnoissances. Belmont, on the west side of the Mississippi, a small post, fortified only by a rude sort of abatis, and lying directly under the guns of Columbus, was destined to be the scene of the first conflict of importance in the West. The Confederates were constantly sending supplies and men from Belmont to Columbus, until at length it became one of the strongest works on the river, completely barring the navigation of the Mississippi, and a constant menace to every point of Grant's command.

Fremont, under date November 1st, directed Grant to make demonstrations on both sides of the river toward Charleston, Norfolk, and Blandville, points a few miles north of Columbus. He was not, however, to make any attack on the enemy. On the 2d the commanding general telegraphed him that three thousand rebels were in Missouri, about fifty miles southeast of Cairo, and ordered him to send a force to assist in turning them into Arkansas. In accordance with these instructions, Grant sent Colonel Richard Oglesby, on the night of the 3d, with the Eighth, Eleventh, Eighteenth, Twenty-ninth Illinois, and three squadrons of cavalry from Commerce, Mo., toward Indian Ford, on the St.

Francis River. On the 5th, Grant received a dispatch from Fremont that Polk, who was in command at Columbus, was re-enforcing General Price in southwestern Missouri, and, as he (Fremont) was at the time confronting the Confederate general, it was of vital importance that these re-enforcements should cease by a demonstration being made against Columbus and Belmont. Oglesby was at once ordered to deflect to New Madrid, below Columbus, and Colonel Wallace sent to re-enforce him. General Charles F. Smith was also instructed to move out from Paducah toward the rear of Columbus, and "to keep the enemy from throwing over the river much more force than they now have there"—Grant informing him that "the principal point to gain is to prevent the enemy from sending a force to fall in the rear of those now sent out from their command." Two other smaller demonstrations were made from Bird's Point and Fort Holt for the purpose of deceiving the enemy.

On the evening of November 6th General Grant embarked his expeditionary force, consisting of thirty-one hundred and fourteen men, chiefly Illinoisians, on transports at Cairo, and, accompanied by two gunboats, dropped down the river about ten miles, and made a feint of landing on the Kentucky shore. The Union force consisted of five regiments of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and a section of artillery, the men composing the command, with the exception of a few veterans of the Mexican War, never having been under fire, and to some portion of the infantry arms had only been distributed two days before. McClernand was

the only general officer who accompanied the expedition, and he had had no positive experience in battle. Grant learned during the night of the 6th that General Polk was crossing large bodies of troops from Columbus to Belmont, with a view to cutting off Oglesby, and at once determined to convert the demonstration into an attack, as it was necessary to prevent a movement against the troops under Oglesby, as well as preventing re-enforcements being sent to Price's army. Grant had no intention of remaining at Belmont, which is on low ground, and could not have been held under the guns of Columbus, his object being simply to destroy the camp, capture or disperse the enemy, and return to Cairo before Polk could intercept him.

At six o'clock the expedition crossed the river and debarked at Hunter's Point, three miles above Belmont, and just out of range of the enemy's batteries at Columbus. Leaving a battalion as a reserve near the transports, the troops marched by flank toward Belmont, where the Confederates had pitched their camp, in an open field, protected by fallen timber, and halted when two miles distant. Deploying his whole force as skirmishers, the attack began, and by nine o'clock our troops were hotly engaged driving the enemy back from field to field, and from tree to tree—a battle of the Wilderness on a small scale—until he reached his camp, protected by slashed timber as an abatis. Even this could not arrest the progress of our victorious troops, who had been fighting for four hours, and, with a wild hurrah, they charged over and through the fallen timber, capturing the camp, several hun-

dred prisoners and all the artillery, and driving the enemy to the river bank and to their transports. Grant, who was constantly in the front, now ordered the destruction of the encampment, burning tents, blankets, and stores; after which the troops with the prisoners and captured guns, were ordered back to the transports, the object of the expedition having been accomplished. In the meantime re-enforcements had been sent over from Columbus, and, landing above Belmont, now confronted our troops on their march to Hunter's Point. A cry was now raised, "We are surrounded," accompanied by some confusion, and a young staff officer in an excited manner imparted the information to his chief. "Well," said he, "if that is so, we must fight our way out as we cut our way in," and it was gallantly done, the enemy disappearing a second time over the banks. As, however, re-enforcements were constantly crossing from Columbus, Grant could not halt to engage the enemy, but was compelled to hasten forward to his transports.

At five in the afternoon our forces had re-embarked, and, protected by the gunboats, which poured in grape and canister on the pursuing Confederates, returned to Cairo. We had eighty-five killed, three hundred wounded, and about one hundred missing, while their loss was much greater, numbering in all six hundred and forty-two. Both parties claimed a victory at Belmont, a battle insignificant compared with the later engagements of the war, but possessing, says Dr. Coppée, an importance peculiarly its own.

I. It was a *coup d'essai* of our new general. While

others of his rank were playing quite subordinate parts in large armies, Grant was making an independent expedition in command, outwitting the enemy, burning his camp, retreating successfully when overpowered, and effecting his purpose in a most soldierly manner. II. Again, it was a trial of our new troops in the West, and they acquitted themselves so as to elicit the hearty praise of their commander and the country. They fought well in the attack, from colonels to privates, in the retreat, and in cutting their way through Cheatham's force, and were never for a moment discouraged. III. The object of the expedition—to prevent the enemy from sending a force to Missouri, to cut off our detachments which were pressing Thompson, and prevent his re-enforcing Price—were fully accomplished. Grant had given him a blow which kept him concentrated, lest another might soon follow. IV. It demonstrated the weakness of the enemy. It led to the victories of Forts Henry and Donelson, and the piercing of the Confederates' line, which threw it back almost to the Gulf.

The general, on the return of the expedition to Cairo, issued an address containing the following allusion to the part he took in the Mexican campaign, the only reference that we recall ever made by Grant in any of his many official papers, with the single exception of his letter to General Thomas, which appears on a previous page: "The general commanding this military district returns his thanks to the troops under his command at the battle of Belmont yesterday. It has been his fortune to have been in all the battles fought in

Mexico by Generals Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested or where troops behaved with more gallantry." But, in conversation with intimate friends, Grant not infrequently alluded to the advantage his Mexican experiences had proved to him during the civil war. In his Personal Memoirs he refers to the great value to him of Taylor's and Scott's campaigns in Mexico, and particularly to the knowledge gained of the character of the men with and against whom he contended for four years.

It is but simple justice to Grant to add that the admirable conduct of the little army was stimulated by his presence and inspired by his example. When he arrived at the landing at the close of the battle, he was the only man of our army between the Confederate forces and the Union transports and gunboats. It was a high bank, but his intelligent horse Jack took in the situation, slid down the difficult descent on his haunches, trotted single over the gangplank, and both man and beast reached the steamer in safety. The general had a horse killed under him in the engagement, and his groom was captured. An exchange was proposed by General Polk of Grant's servant for a colored cook belonging to a Confederate colonel, but the Union commander replied that he had no authority to exchange a black man, who, however, could return if he so desired. He did not, but Grant's groom was nevertheless courteously sent back by the ex-bishop. To the circumstance that the general that day wore the ordinary blue army overcoat used by our privates he owed his life. A Confederate officer said to his

sharpshooters, "There's a Yankee, if you want to try your aim." But his men were all busy firing at the crowded transports, and deemed the solitary soldier unworthy of notice. The general immediately entered the captain's room and lay down on a sofa, but did not keep the position a moment, going out on deck to observe what was going on. He had scarcely left when a musket ball struck the head of the sofa, passing through it and lodging in the foot, so that Grant had a second narrow escape that day.

Soon after the close of the war, in a conversation with the present biographer, General Grant said: "I was certainly alarmed at Belmont when I learned that our forces were in danger of being cut off from the transports, but when a little later I heard that the enemy were equally frightened, I made up my mind that it should never happen again, and it never did. I then and there decided that the best way to beat the enemy was not to be afraid of him. Neither at Shiloh, at Vicksburg, at Chattanooga, nor in the Wilderness did the enemy succeed in frightening me a second time." Writing nearly nineteen years after the above conversation, our hero stated, in his Personal Memoirs, that the circumstance occurred several months before the battle of Belmont, on the occasion of his being ordered to move against Colonel Thomas Harris near the little town of Florida, in Missouri. He felt much alarmed on approaching the locality where he expected to meet the enemy, and was greatly relieved to find the troops gone. The general says: "It occurred to me at once that Harris had been as much afraid of

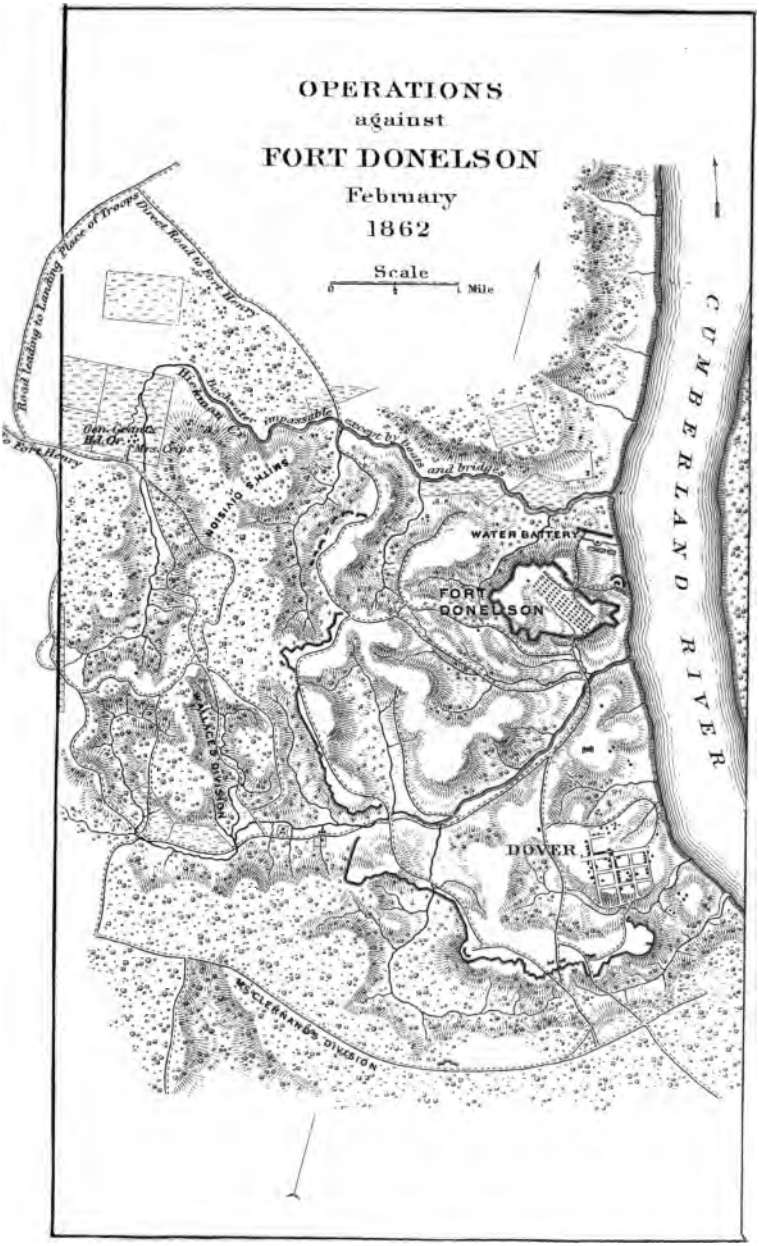
me as I had been of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before, but it was one that I never forgot afterward. From that event to the close of the war I never experienced trepidation upon confronting an enemy, though I always felt more or less anxiety. I never forgot that he had as much reason to fear my forces as I had his."

It is immaterial whether the Union commander learned the valuable lesson in July or, four months later, in his first battle of the civil war at Belmont, for the fact that it was acquired early in the war is well illustrated by General Sherman's characteristic statement, "I was afraid as death of what was behind the hill, while Grant did not care a damn!"

CHAPTER V.

FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON CAPTURED.

On November 9, 1861, Fremont was removed and Henry W. Halleck (1815–'72), second on the list of major generals of the regular army, was appointed his successor in the command of the Department of Missouri. He had been an officer of engineers, a diligent military student, and a writer on military subjects, but had resigned and entered upon the practice of law in California. Immediately upon assuming command, he divided the department into districts, of which Cairo was the most important. It was enlarged, so as to include all the southern part of Illinois, all of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River, and the southern counties of Missouri. General Grant was made commander of the new district. Large numbers of newly mustered troops from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Michigan poured into this district, some for service within its limits, others intended to re-enforce the Union armies in other localities. Grant maintained a vigilant supervision over them, and whenever it was possible inproved their discipline, organization, and training before sending them to the various points where their services were required.


OPERATIONS
against
FORT DONELSON
February
1862
Scale
0
1 Mile
Road leading to Landing Place of Troops
Direct Road to Fort Henry
Hickman Cr.
Backwater impassable except by boats and bridges
Gen. Grant's Hd. Qr.
Mrs. Crips
to Fort Henry
NOISIAND SHIMS
WATER BATTERY
FORT DONELSON
WALLACE'S DIVISION
DOVER
McCLERNAND'S DIVISION
CUMBERLAND RIVER

Before describing the campaign against Forts Henry and Donelson it may be well to glance for a moment at the position of the enemy against whom Grant was to act. Columbus, the left of the well-selected Confederate line, extending from the Mississippi to the Big Barren River in middle Kentucky, was called the Gibraltar of America, and its heavy batteries of one hundred and forty guns swept the great river above and below; on the right was Bowling Green, naturally well adapted to defense, and of strategic importance as being the junction of the Louisville and Nashville and the Memphis and Ohio Railroads, and the northernmost point then held by them west of the Alleghanies. Here the enemy had concentrated one of their best appointed armies, protecting Nashville and threatening northern Kentucky. Midway between Bowling Green and Columbus, and forming important lines in the strategic problem, flowed the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. About fifty miles south of the Ohio these two streams, running nearly parallel, approach within eleven miles of each other, and here, at a bend in each river, the Confederates had erected strong works to bar the passage of Union troops into the very heart of the Confederacy. Fort Henry, on the eastern bank of the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, on the western bank of the Cumberland, were connected by a good road and telegraph line. The former mounted seventeen guns and had barracks and quarters for fifteen thousand men; the latter mounted about forty guns, and contained, when the battle occurred, twenty thousand troops.

As the naval forces bore an important part in

the military operations at the West, we must briefly describe the novel gunboats, known as "turtles," introduced on the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Cumberland Rivers at this early period of the war, and which, for a time, created consternation in the ranks of the enemy. They were improvised out of the river steamers, and, being sheathed with iron, were rendered almost impervious to the heaviest artillery. Armed as completely as Cœur de Lion's cavaliers, these dark monsters penetrated the rivers, inspiring terror everywhere, and were of the greatest service in co-operating with the army. They were navigated by experienced pilots, and commanded by officers of the regular navy. Sharing in direct assaults, driving guerrillas back from the river banks, convoying transports, carrying troops and stores, and covering the movements of troops—these strange ironclad monsters, with the later invented monitors, all under the control of General Halleck, contributed greatly to the successes gained on many battlefields in the Mississippi Valley.

Early in January, 1862, in accordance with orders received, Grant moved a force of six thousand men from Cairo and Bird's Point toward Mayfield and Murray, in West Kentucky; he also sent out two brigades from Paducah, threatening Columbus, and the line between the "Western Gibraltar" and Bowling Green. The troops were out for more than a week, and suffered greatly from cold. There was no fighting done, but the objects of the demonstration were fully accomplished, for during its continuance Confederate troops were prevented from re-enforcing the army which General Thomas de-

feated, at Mill Springs, Ky. On the return of the Paducah expedition, its commander, General Smith, reported that Fort Henry could easily be captured if attacked by three or four of the turtle ironclads and a strong co-operating land force. Having been granted permission to visit department headquarters at St. Louis, Grant proceeded there with the object of obtaining Halleck's consent to attack Forts Henry and Donelson, but returned without having obtained the desired permission. Badeau says, "Halleck silenced him so quickly that Grant said no more on the subject, and went back to Cairo with the idea that his commander thought him guilty of a great military blunder."

On the 28th of the same month, Grant's mind still being intent upon the capture of the forts on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, telegraphed to Halleck at St. Louis, "With permission I will take and hold Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and establish and hold a large camp there," and on the day following wrote: "In view of the large force now concentrating in this district, and the present feasibility of the plan, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of subduing Fort Henry, near the Kentucky and Tennessee line, and holding the position. If this is not done soon, there is but little doubt that the defenses on both the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers will be materially strengthened. From Fort Henry it will be easy to operate, either on the Cumberland (only twelve miles distant), Memphis, or Columbus. It will, besides, have a moral effect upon our troops to advance thence toward the rebel States. The advantages of this move

are as perceptible to the general commanding as to myself, therefore further statements are unnecessary." Commodore Foote, commanding the naval forces on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, also wrote to Halleck, recommending the movement; and at length, on the 30th inst., that officer gave the desired permission, accompanied by instructions. On the morning of Monday, February 2d, a force of seventeen thousand men on transports, convoyed by the gunboat fleet of seven vessels, moved up the Ohio to Paducah, and thence to Bailey's Ferry, on the east bank, three miles above Fort Henry, where the troops were landed on the 4th. On the 6th the troops advanced toward the enemy's works, but were so much delayed by the condition of the roads, the whole country being inundated, that the fort succumbed to the attack of the fleet after a severe bombardment of one hour and a half, and before the army could get up to participate in the attack. "The plan of the attack," says Foote, "so far as the army reaching the rear of the fort to make a demonstration, was frustrated by the excessively muddy roads and the high stage of water, preventing the arrival of our troops until some time after I had taken possession of the fort." The main force of the enemy—stationed about two miles from the fort, to be out of reach of the gunboats—ingloriously retreated on Fort Donelson before the result of the action was known, and without striking a single blow.

The Union general at once telegraphed to the department commander: "Fort Henry is ours. The gunboats silenced the batteries before the invest-

ment was completed. . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson the 8th, and return to Fort Henry." On the 7th Grant's cavalry penetrated to within a mile of Fort Donelson, driving in the Confederate pickets, and the army was ordered to march on the day following, but, owing to the impassable state of the roads, it was found impracticable to move the baggage or artillery, and owing to the high state of water in the Tennessee, flooding the whole country, it was found impossible to proceed for several days until portions of the ground could be bridged over. Ordering up re-enforcements from various quarters, Grant moved the advance of his army, under McClernand, toward Fort Donelson on the 11th, and the day following the main body, commanded by C. F. Smith, and numbering fifteen thousand men, marched from Fort Henry, leaving a force of twenty-five hundred, under General Wallace, to garrison and hold that post and Fort Heiman. Our troops halted in front of the Confederate lines the same day, no obstacles having been opposed to their march by the enemy. The gunboat fleet had already proceeded down the Tennessee, in order to co-operate with the army in the attack upon Donelson, and with them had gone transports, having on board six regiments to be disposed of as circumstances should render expedient.

The Confederate stronghold against which the combined forces of the army and navy were now directed was situated on the west bank of the Cumberland River, inclosing about one hundred acres, and garrisoned by twenty-one thousand men under Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. The coun-

try was hilly and densely wooded in the vicinity of the main fort, but the timber had been cut down far out in advance of the breastworks, the smaller trees chopped till they stood breast high, and the limbs left attached to the trunks, forming an abatis. Two streams, at this time not fordable, set back from the Cumberland and formed the right and left of the rebel position, which extended nearly three miles, and was strongly intrenched, every advantage having been taken of the defensible character of the country. At inside intervals were secondary lines and detached works, commanding the outer intrenchments. The fort, standing upon a high hill on the river bank, where it makes an abrupt turn from north to west, flowing in the latter direction for about a quarter of a mile and then turning northward again, could pour a murderous fire from its upper and water batteries upon the attacking Union gunboats.

Thursday, the 13th, was occupied in getting the troops in position, General C. F. Smith having the left, and General McClernand the right of the national line. No assault was made, owing to the non-arrival of the gunboats with the re-enforcements sent by water, and the novel sight was exhibited of an army of fifteen thousand men besieging a stronghold garrisoned by twenty-one thousand troops. During the day there was considerable cannonading by both parties, and some picket firing. An assault was made by three regiments of McClernand's division during the afternoon for the purpose of making a lodgment upon the enemy's intrenchments, and particularly upon an apartment

covering a strong battery in the front. The storming party formed at the foot of the hill, where they were in a measure protected from a direct fire. The troops moved up the hill in a gallant manner, but the enemy's fire was so withering, and the obstacles presented by the abatis and pallisading so great, that they were compelled to fall back without accomplishing the object.

At sunset no re-enforcements of importance had arrived, nor had Flag-Officer Foote and the ironclads yet appeared on the scene. That night the weather became intensely cold, and before morning a driving storm of snow and hail set in, causing the troops, who were bivouacking in line of battle without tents, many without blankets, and with insufficient food, to undergo fearful suffering. Many of the soldiers of both armies were found frozen to death after day dawned on Friday the 14th. With the morning light came the long-looked-for fleet and transports bearing Thayer's brigade. General Wallace also arrived, having been ordered over from Fort Henry. His command was placed in the center line, with the exception of one brigade allotted to the extreme right. During the whole day a heavy artillery fire was kept up by the contending forces, and constant firing by the sharpshooters, and at three o'clock the naval attack was opened by the ironclads. After a severe engagement of nearly ten hours, during which time the naval vessels were all so much injured as to have but twelve guns that could be brought to bear on the Confederate works, the commodore wounded, and fifty-four men killed and disabled, Foote ordered his

squadron to withdraw. Had the attack been a success, it was the intention of General Grant to have carried the enemy's intrenchments by an assault of the whole line. That day he wrote: "Appearances now are that we shall have a protracted siege here. I fear the result of an attempt to carry the place by storm with new troops. I feel great confidence, however, of ultimately reducing the place."

Before daylight on Saturday, the 15th, General Grant went on board the flagship St. Louis to consult with the wounded commodore, by whom he was informed that the disabled condition of his squadron compelled him to return to Cairo for repairs. The gallant Foote suggested that the army should remain in *statu quo* until the fleet could return and take part either in a bombardment or in a protracted siege, and it is very possible that the advice would have been followed had it not been prevented by the enemy taking the initiative and hastening their own destruction. The Southern leaders, observing the constant arrival of re-enforcements—the Union army now numbered twenty-two thousand men—feeling that the lines were closing around them, and aware that the investment of the place would soon be complete, decided upon assuming the aggressive and cutting their way out, if indeed they did not succeed in totally destroying Grant's army. Ten thousand men, including Forrest's cavalry, were to be thrown upon McClernand, and an equal number against the center under Wallace; these attacks being successful, would force back the right flank and center around General Smith, commanding the left, as a pivot, and then

the whole army might be easily routed or destroyed. Accordingly, at five o'clock, before our half-frozen troops were astir, the Confederate column, led by Pillow, moved out with thirty guns to crush McClernand's division.

The morning reveille had just sounded in our camp, and the troops were not under arms when the sound of musketry approaching nearer and nearer made it evident even to the inexperienced that a serious attack had begun against our right. McArthur's brigade was the first to feel the Confederate fire, and soon the attack extended along the whole of McClernand's front, the overwhelming number of the enemy gradually pushing back the Union forces, and frightening the faint-hearted by their fiendlike yells. Some guns were lost; the line was forced back; many regiments were wavering, their ammunition being entirely expended, when Wallace came up with timely re-enforcements from the center, giving courage to the hard-pressed troops, and holding for a time the enemy in check. Gradually, however, the Union line was forced back, amid some disorder and panic. It was at this juncture that Grant, returning from the flagship at about nine o'clock, met an aid galloping up to inform him of the assault. He immediately directed General Smith, who had not yet been engaged, to hold himself in readiness to assault the Confederate right with his whole command. "Riding on," says Badeau, "he soon reached the point where the hardest fighting had occurred. The rebels had failed to make their way through the national lines, and were doggedly retiring. Still, the troops were very much

disordered; most of them had never been in battle. Some, and not a few, were yet unfamiliar with the use of their muskets. The giving out of the ammunition in the cartridge boxes, and the heavy loss in field officers, had created great confusion in the ranks. There was no pursuit, and the battle was merely lulled, not ended. The men, like all raw troops, imagined the enemy to be in overwhelming force, and reported that the rebels had come out with knapsacks and haversacks, as if they meant to stay out and fight for several days. Grant at once inquired, 'Are the haversacks filled?' Some prisoners were examined, and the haversacks proved to contain three days' rations. 'Then they mean to cut their way out; they have no idea of staying here to fight us;' and, looking at his own disordered men not yet recovered from the shock of battle, Grant exclaimed, 'Whichever party attacks now will win, and the rebels will have to be very quick if they beat me.'"

Putting spurs to his horse, he rode at once to the left, where the troops, not having been engaged, were fresh, and ordered an immediate assault. As they rode along the general and his staff reassured the men with the news that the enemy were getting desperate, and that the attack of the morning was an attempt to cut their way out, not an ordinary and confident assault. As soon as the troops caught this idea, they took new courage; scattered until now in knots all over the field, they at once reformed, and moved toward the front. At this time Grant sent a request to Foote to have the gunboats show themselves to the enemy. "A terrible con-

flict," he said, " ensued in my absence, which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so. If the gunboats do not appear, it will reassure the enemy and still further demoralize our troops. I must order a charge to save appearances. I do not expect the gunboats to go into action." Two of the fleet accordingly ran up the river, and threw a few shells at long range. McClernand and Wallace were informed of Smith's order to assault, and directed to hold themselves in readiness to renew the battle in their front the moment Smith began his attack. To McClernand the order was " to push his column to the river if possible, otherwise to remain, *statu quo*, maintaining his present position."

General Smith's assaulting column was formed of Lauman's brigade, the Second Iowa Infantry having the lead. Smith formed the regiment in two lines, with a front of five companies each, thirty paces apart. He told the men what they had to do, and took his position between these two lines with the color bearer by his side. It was nearly sunset when the brigade dashed up the steep hillside toward the ridge where the Confederates had constructed their outer works. They were met by a murderous fire, thinning the ranks and causing the men to waver for a moment, but the stirring cry of the stout-hearted general, " Forward, steady, men, steady! " encouraged the faltering column, and, with a cheer, it rushed up the hill, gained and passed the abatis, then the ridge, the redoubts, and with a bayonet charge drove the enemy before them. Another hour of daylight would have sufficed to carry the

fort. As it was, Smith camped for the night within the line of intrenchments. Wallace and McClernand on the center and right had regained the ground lost in the morning, and as night fell held an advanced positon near the enemy's works. The commander's lodging that night was a negro hut, and the troops slept on the frozen ground, many of them without food, blankets, or fire, looking with enthusiasm to the coming day, when their toils and hardships would be crowned with victory.

That evening a council of war was held within Fort Donelson, General Floyd, the commanding officer, General Pillow, the second in command, and General Buckner, the three chief officers. Floyd was a civilian, who had been Secretary of War under Buchanan, and in that position, while a sworn officer of Government, had removed arms and munitions of war to Southern arsenals, and had distributed the regular army among Southern posts, where both could readily be captured by the Confederacy as soon as organized. Neither by talent nor training was he qualified for his position. Pillow and Buckner, however, were officers whom Grant had known in Mexico, the latter much the abler and more honorable of the two. The discussion was long and acrimonious in character. Floyd thought only of escape, and declared he should turn the command over to Pillow and retreat up the river with his Virginia brigade. Pillow, too, was disposed to desert the brave men whom he had led into the trap, and to avoid responsibility by assigning the command to General Buckner. "If the command comes into my hands, I shall deem it my duty to surrender it,"

Buckner is reported to have said. "I shall not ask my troops to make a useless sacrifice of life, nor will I desert the men who have fought so nobly."

Shortly after midnight the council broke up. Next morning, before daylight, a white flag waved over the fort, and General Buckner sent a flag of truce, asking what terms of surrender would be given. During the night Generals Floyd and Pillow, embarking a portion of the Virginia brigade on two or three small steamers lying at the river bank, had secretly gone on board and fled up the river. Colonel Forrest and his cavalry had also escaped by fording the creek between the Union right and the river. The remainder of the garrison with the fort Buckner now wished to surrender, and proposed to General Grant an armistice and the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms; but the latter replied at once, "No terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." * Buckner hastened to reply that the distribution of the forces under his command, incident to a change of commanders, and the overwhelm-

* The following communications relating to the surrender of Fort Donelson are copied from the originals in the possession of Ferdinand J. Dreer, Esq., of Philadelphia, who received them from General Rawlins, to whom they were given by Grant. Since the destruction, by fire, of Lincoln's original emancipation proclamation they are perhaps the most interesting existing documents connected with the civil war, with the single exception of Grant's terms of surrender to Lee's army at Appomattox.

HDQRS., FORT DONELSON, *Feby.* 16, 1862.

Major Cosby will take or send by an officer to the nearest picket of the enemy the accompanying communication to Gen-

ing force opposed to him, compelled him to accept the "ungenerous and unchivalrous" terms pro-

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eral Grant, and request information of the point where future communications will reach him. Also inform him that my hdqrs. will be for the present Dover.

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig. Gen.*

Have the white flag hoisted on Fort Donelson, not on the batteries.

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig. Gen.*

HEADQUARTERS, FORT DONELSON, *February* 16, 1862.

SIR: In consideration of all the circumstances governing the present condition of affairs at this station, I propose to the commanding officer of the Federal forces the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation of the forces and fort under my command, and in that view suggest an armistice until 12 o'clock to-day. I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obt. se'v't,

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig. Gen. C. S. A.*

To Brigadier-General U. S. GRANT,
Com'ding U. S. forces, near Fort Donelson.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY IN THE FIELD,
CAMP NEAR DONELSON, *February* 16, 1862.

General S. B. BUCKNER, *Confederate Army.*

SIR: Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms except an unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works. I am, sir, very respectfully, Your ob't se'v't,

U. S. GRANT, *Brig. Gen.*

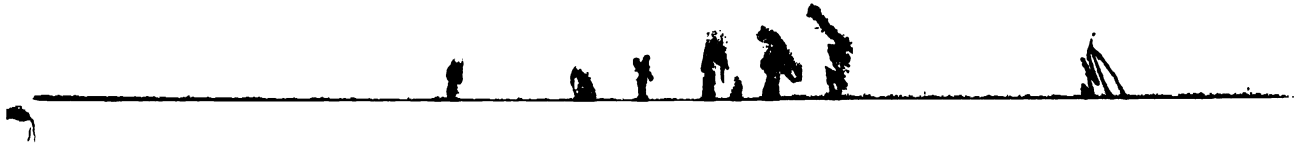
HEADQUARTERS, DOVER, TENNESSEE, *February* 16, 1862.

To Brig.-Gen. U. S. GRANT, *U. S. Army.*

SIR: The distribution of forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalric terms which you propose.

I am, sir, your very obt. se'v't,

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brig. Gen. C. S. A.*



posed. As soon as General Grant received this communication from his Military Academy comrade, he mounted his horse and proceeded with his staff to Buckner's headquarters, where he disclaimed any desire to unnecessarily humiliate his prisoners, but would allow the officers to retain their side-arms and personal baggage. All the public property, including horses, were to be given up, the privates being permitted, as in the case of the officers, to retain their personal effects. In the course of a conversation which took place between the commanders, Buckner acknowledged that they had been foiled in their attempt to cut their way out the day previous, and, alluding to Grant's inferior force at the commencement of the siege, remarked, "If I had been in command, you would not have reached Fort Donelson so easily." "If you had been in command," replied Grant, "I should have waited for re-enforcements, and marched from Fort Henry in greater strength; but I knew that Pillow would not come out of his works to fight, and told my staff so, though I believed he would fight behind his works." The result of this magnificent victory, which electrified the loyal North, was sixty-five guns, seventeen thousand small arms, three thousand horses, and nearly fifteen thousand prisoners. It was the first important victory achieved by the Union arms, and it at once gave Grant a national reputation. The day after the surrender the victorious general issued a general order, in which he gave the most generous and deserved praise to the men by whose prowess and fortitude he had won the victory. For four successive nights, he

wrote, "without shelter during the most inclement weather, they faced an enemy in large force, in a position chosen by himself. The victory was not only great in its moral effect, but had secured the greatest number of prisoners of war ever taken on this continent. Fort Donelson will hereafter be marked in capitals on the map of our united country, and the men who fought the battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."

As a reward for this achievement, Grant was made a major general. He was recommended by the Secretary of War, nominated at once by the President, and immediately confirmed by the Senate, his commission dating from the day of the surrender. Mr. Stanton, the new War Secretary, wrote: "We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now, and by us, in the same and only manner that they were ever won by any people or in any age since the days of Joshua—by boldly pursuing and striking the foe. What under the blessing of Providence I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military combination to end this war was declared in a few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner, 'I propose to move immediately on your works.'"

The capture of Fort Donelson penetrated the Confederate line of defense west of the Alleghany Mountains, turning both its extremities and uncovering the region behind. The importance of the achievement was exhibited by the evacuation of Clarkesville, on the east bank of the Cumberland River, where large quantities of military stores

were found by our troops, who entered February 20th. Three days later the Union flag was seen in the streets of Nashville, that city being also hastily evacuated by General A. S. Johnston and his forces. Bowling Green, rendered untenable by the fall of Fort Donelson, was abandoned, and early in March the prelate Polk evacuated Columbus and took up a new position at Island No. 10, on the Mississippi. As these important places and strongholds fell one after another in rapid succession, the amazement and gratification of the loyal people of the North was unbounded.

"My opinion was, and still is," wrote Grant a score of years later, "that immediately after the fall of Fort Donelson the way was opened to the national forces all over the Southwest without much resistance. If one general who would have taken the responsibility had been in command of all the troops west of the Alleghanies, he could have marched to Chattanooga, Corinth, Memphis, and Vicksburg with the troops we then had, and, as volunteering was then going on rapidly over the North, there would soon have been force enough at all those centers to operate offensively against any body of the enemy that might be found near them. Rapid movements and the acquisition of rebellious territory would have promoted volunteering, so that re-enforcements could have been had as fast as transportation could have been obtained to carry them to their destination. On the other hand, there were tens of thousands of strong, able-bodied young men still at their homes in the Southwestern States who had not gone into the Confeder-

ate army in February, 1862, and who had no particular desire to go. If our lines had been extended to protect their homes, many of them would never have gone. Providence ruled differently. Time was given the enemy to collect armies and fortify his new positions, and twice afterward he came very near forcing his northwestern front up to the Ohio River."

When Grant visited the naval commander on board the St. Louis the day before the fall of Fort Donelson, he received from the commodore on his departure a few fine cigars, one of which he placed in his mouth, expecting to light it as soon as he reached land. The alarming news of the enemy's fierce assault on our line which met him on returning from the flagship allowed no time for lighting cigars, and so the general, mounted on his favorite charger Jack, or, as known among the soldiers, Old Clayback, rode for several hours on the battlefield with Commodore Foote's fragrant but unlit Havana between his teeth. When the particulars of the capture of the fort was flashed over the loyal North, Knox, Richardson, and the other army correspondents in their dispatches all referred to the incident of Grant's cigar. The result was that within a week cigars came pouring in from the hero's admirers in Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, and other patriotic cities. As they were generally of the best brands, the victorious soldier, hitherto among the most moderate of men in the use of tobacco, set resolutely to work to smoke as many cigars as possible, and soon succeeded in fairly winning and faithfully maintaining

for twenty years the reputation of being among the greatest smokers in or out of the army. A bunch of twenty-five was not an unusual allowance for him to dispose of in a day during the war. Of course, he could not consume that number in so short a space of time, but would present some to friends and visitors at headquarters. When, in 1884, Grant, by the advice of his physician, abandoned the habit, he said to the writer of these lines, "I was never aware of any injurious effects from my habit of smoking, but, having been recommended to stop, I have done so."

CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

WHEN Grant was given an increased command by being advanced to the District of West Tennessee, General William T. Sherman was assigned to his former position, the District of Cairo. They first met at the Military Academy, Grant graduating three years later than Sherman. There is nothing finer in military biography than the story of the unbroken friendship of these two illustrious soldiers, so unlike in character, and yet so faithful to each other under all circumstances. After the fall of Fort Donelson, Sherman wrote congratulating the successful soldier on his splendid victory, to which Grant replied: "I feel under obligations to you for the kind terms of your letter, and hope, should an opportunity occur, you will earn for yourself that promotion which you are kind enough to say belongs to me. I care nothing for promotion, so long as our arms are successful, and no political appointments are made." "This was," says Badeau, "the beginning of a friendship destined thereafter never to flag, to stand the test of apparent rivalry and public censure, to remain firm under trials such as few friendships were ever subjected

to; to become warmer as often as it was sought to be interrupted, and in hours of extraordinary anxiety and responsibility and care to afford a solace and a support that were never lacking when the need arose."

On February 27th Grant went to Nashville to consult with General Buell about the disposition of their troops, the jurisdiction of the two commanders having become confused during the recent movements, and the former having ordered a portion of Grant's army to join him at Nashville. March 1st came orders from General Halleck to move his whole force back from the Cumberland to the Tennessee, with a view to an expedition up the latter river to Eastport and Corinth, Miss. On the 4th, he being at Fort Henry, and his troops moving forward, Grant received orders from Halleck to place General Smith in command of the expedition, and to remain himself at Fort Henry. To this he replied the day following that the troops would be sent forward as directed. Smith, therefore, assumed command of the troops in the field, and selected Pittsburg Landing as a base of operations against Corinth, a position of great importance and the key to the whole railway system of communication between the States of Tennessee and Mississippi; it was twenty miles distant from the Confederate position, on the west side of the Tennessee, and was flanked on the left by a deep ravine, and on both flanks by the Snake and Lick Creeks, which would compel the enemy to attack in front, the distance between the creeks being less than two miles. The Landing was protected by the gunboats

Lexington and Tyler, and Buell's Army of the Ohio, moving forward, was to re-enforce the Army of the Tennessee.

Grant's success provoked that jealousy which was the bane of the service in the early period of the war, and charges were preferred against him at Washington of having absented himself from his command without leave, of not maintaining proper order in camp, and of failing to report the number of men under his command. About March 14th General Halleck received orders from Washington to investigate these charges and report. He did so, replying that Grant did proceed to Nashville immediately after the capture of Fort Donelson without orders from him, but, he was satisfied, with good intentions, and from a desire to subserve the public interests; also that during his absence certain irregularities had occurred at Fort Donelson which were a direct violation of his (Grant's) orders; that General Grant had made the proper explanations, and had been directed to resume his command in the field. Halleck recommended that no further notice be taken of the affair. Grant's failure to make returns of his forces was due partly to the interruption of telegraphic and mail communication, also to the failure of several of his subordinates to report to him. Copies of both the order and report Halleck now sent to Grant. It was not until after the close of the war, however, that the latter learned from the researches of his biographer Badeau, among the records of the War Department, that Halleck himself had preferred the original charges.

When first made aware of their existence, Grant had asked to be relieved from further service under General Halleck, but that officer had refused his request. "I have averaged writing" (was Grant's reply on March 6th) "more than once a day to keep you informed of my position, and it is no fault of mine if you have not received my letters. My going to Nashville was strictly intended for the good of the service, and not to gratify any desire of my own. Believing sincerely that I must have enemies between you and myself who are trying to impair my usefulness, I respectfully ask to be relieved from further duty in this department." Halleck soon reinstated Grant to full command of the army in the field, and ordered him to lead it to new achievements.* Grant complied, and on March 17th relieved General Smith and resumed command, establishing his headquarters at Savannah. General Charles F. Smith, who commanded the victorious army during the interim, was perhaps the equal of any soldier then in the service. He it was who pushed up the Tennessee River and, making his headquarters at Savannah, immediately began operations with a view to the capture of Corinth, a county town of great strategic importance. He sent Sherman's division up the river to Hamburg to cut the railroad, but the condition of the river

* Halleck wrote: "You can not be relieved from your command. There is no good reason for it. I am certain that all the authorities at Washington ask is that you enforce discipline and punish the disorderly. Instead of relieving you, I wish you, as soon as your new army is in the field, to assume the immediate command and lead it on to new victories."

compelled its return and landing at Pittsburg. There Smith concentrated other divisions with one at Crump's Landing, four miles above Savannah. From there Grant wrote to General Sherman, "I have just arrived, and, although sick for the last two weeks, begin to feel better at the thought of being again with the troops."

The army then consisted of five divisions under Major-Generals Smith and McClernand, and Brigadier-Generals Sherman, Hurlbut, and Lewis Wallace, the latter stationed at Crump's Landing, on the left bank of the river, about five miles below, and, being considered within supporting distance, were left to guard the Purdy road. Smith's and McClernand's divisions were pushed forward from Savannah, so that all our forces were soon collected together at Pittsburg Landing. Grant remained at Savannah to superintend the organization of the troops constantly arriving, which were formed into another division—the sixth—and Brigadier-General Prentiss assigned to its command, which was at once sent to join the army at Pittsburg. Another motive for his remaining at Savannah was that he could communicate more readily with General Buell, who was moving forward from Nashville with forty thousand veterans to join Grant, the Army of the Ohio having been transferred to Halleck's department, to enable the Northern troops to meet on equal terms the large force that was assembling for the defense of Corinth, estimated as high as one hundred thousand men. Bragg's corps had been brought from Mobile and Pensacola; General Polk had come from Island No. 10 with a portion of

his troops; Johnston had marched there after evacuating Nashville; and other troops had rendezvoused from various quarters, including Hardee's corps and Breckinridge's command. It was also confidently expected that they would be re-enforced by the trans-Mississippi armies of Price and Van Dorn. The object of this vast assemblage was not only to protect Corinth, but to crush Grant's army before it should be re-enforced by Buell. General Albert Sidney Johnston and Beauregard were the ranking officers, and as to which was in supreme command before Johnston's death has been the subject of much controversy.

The battlefield of Shiloh, or Pittsburg, for by both names it appears to be equally known, extends back three miles from the Landing. It is a thickly wooded and broken country, interspersed with patches of cultivation and a few rude buildings, among which stood near the junction of the Corinth and Purdy roads the Shiloh Church, a primitive fane, constructed of logs, from which the sanguinary field was named by our Southern foes. The Union army faced mainly to the south and west, the line extending from Lick Creek, on the south, to Snake Creek, on the north; Sherman on the right, somewhat in advance, and across the main Corinth road; on his left, but somewhat retired, McClernand's command was posted; next, Prentiss was advanced, and on his left, commanding a detached brigade of Sherman's division, and covering the crossing of Lick Creek, was Stuart. General Smith's division, commanded by W. H. L. Wallace, the gallant old soldier being on a sick bed at Savannah, was with

Hurlbut's command to the rear, and near the Landing, acting as reserves, and respectively supporting the right and left wings of the army. The sixth division, under Lewis Wallace, was at Crump's Landing, his troops being stretched out on the Purdy road, so as to be in readiness for a movement to Pittsburg or Purdy, as circumstances might require. Buell was "hastening slowly," his advance under Nelson having reached Savannah, and been ordered by General Grant to move to the river bank, opposite Pittsburg, on the morning of the 6th, and it was confidently expected that Buell's entire command would arrive during the day.

On Sunday morning, April 6th, while General Grant and his staff were breakfasting, at an unusually early hour, and their horses were saddled preparatory to riding out from Savannah in search of Buell, firing was heard from the direction of Pittsburg, only six miles distant in a direct line. There had been considerable skirmishing with desultory firing for several days, but the practiced ear of Grant at once detected in the sounds that reached him unmistakable evidences of a battle, and he immediately went on board his flagship, as he called his special boat, and started for Pittsburg, after sending a note in these words to Buell: "Heavy firing is heard up the river, indicating plainly that an attack has been made upon our most advanced positions. I have been looking for this, but did not believe the attack could be made before Monday or Tuesday. This necessitates my joining the forces up the river, instead of meeting you to-day as I had contemplated. I have directed General Nelson to move

up the river with his division. He can march to opposite Pittsburg."

On his way up the river Grant stopped at Crump's Landing and notified General Wallace in person to be ready to move at a moment's warning to support the main army, or, if the attack there should be but a feint, to defend himself until reenforcements should arrive, in the event of the enemy moving against him, on the Purdy road. Grant then proceeded to Pittsburg, arriving there between eight and nine o'clock, and at once rode to the front. It was in good time that he arrived, for a fierce and bloody battle was being fought, which was putting to the test the manhood of the men of the North, partially surprised, and outnumbered, as they were, forty thousand against thirty-three thousand, many of whom were raw troops. Grant, as soon as he saw the state of affairs, sent imperative orders to Nelson and Wallace to advance with all possible speed, a staff officer being sent to Wallace, directing him to march immediately to join the army at Pittsburg Landing, while to Nelson he wrote: "You will hurry up your command as fast as possible. The boats will be in readiness to transport all troops of your command across the river. All looks well, but it is necessary for you to push forward as fast as possible."

The battle of Shiloh, among the severest struggles of the war, was fought on a clear, sunny, spring day. The onset was made not on a sleeping army, as has been too often represented, but upon troops who were in a measure prepared. "It was well known," wrote McPherson, "that the enemy were

approaching our lines, and there had been more or less skirmishing for three days preceding the battle. The consequence was our breakfasts were ordered at an early hour, and our horses saddled, to be ready in case of attack." The storm first burst upon Prentiss, who, having doubled his guards the night before and that morning sent out Colonel Moore with a detachment of five companies to reconnoiter, had timely notice of the enemy's approach, and drew up his division in advance of its camps, and then received the first impetuous attack of the enemy. Sherman next felt the shock, and the tide of battle soon swept along the whole Union line. The raw troops of Prentiss were forced back with the loss of some guns, but took up a new position inside their camps, and were re-enforced by Hurlbut. Sherman was also compelled to fall back until supported by McClernand, while our left and center, where the assault was fiercest, was strengthened by the troops of W. H. L. Wallace. Before 10 A. M., when our men were stubbornly contesting their ground, and the battle was raging fiercest, Grant appeared at the front, and by his presence and personal valor did much to restore the courage of the army. Sherman says in a letter that Grant was early on the field; that he visited his division in person, about 10 A. M., when the battle raged fiercest, approved of his stubborn resistance to the enemy, and, in answer to his inquiry concerning cartridges, told him he had anticipated their want, and given orders accordingly, and remarking that his presence was more needed over at the left, rode off to encourage the hardly pressed ranks of Mc-

Clernand's and Hurlbut's divisions. General Grant next appeared near the center, and thence passed along to the left, encouraging by his words and example, and giving orders to the division commanders. He was also engaged in sending deserters back to their commands, and in organizing new lines with those who had straggled too far to regain their own commands. Even when on that hotly contested field, and constantly under fire, Grant was to be seen making unwearied exertions to maintain his position until Wallace and Nelson should arrive with the long-looked-for re-enforcements of ten thousand veterans. As Wellington longed for night or Field-Marshal Blücher, so did Grant anxiously await the arrival of night or the two delayed divisions of Nelson and Wallace.

During the morning Grant sent an order to another of Buell's division commanders, who he learned had arrived at Savannah, "You will move your command with the utmost dispatch to the river at this point, where steamboats will be in readiness to transport you to Pittsburg." And, still later, another dispatch was sent to the commanding officer of the advanced forces from Buell's army near Pittsburg: "The attack on my forces has been very spirited from early this morning. The appearance of fresh troops in the field now would have a powerful effect, both by inspiring our men and disheartening the enemy. If you will get upon the field, leaving all your baggage on the east bank of the river, it will be more to our advantage, and probably save the day to us. The rebel forces are estimated at over one hundred thousand men. My

headquarters will be in the log building on the top of the hill, where you will be furnished a staff officer to guide you to your place on the field." About three o'clock Buell arrived in advance of his troops, having hurried forward with his staff on hearing, at Savannah, of the terrible battle that was being fought. As the two generals were consulting together at the Landing, Buell inquired, "What preparations have you made for retreating?" when Grant promptly replied, "I have not despaired of whipping them yet!"

At last the Union line was reduced to a mile in length, in a curve at the Landing; it was a forced concentration, but it really consolidated what was left of the exhausted army. At this time the enemy equally worn out with ten hours' continuous marching and fighting—were brought to a stand by the reserve artillery and the heavy fire of the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, which shelled the woods and swept the ravine, enfilading the Confederate lines and batteries. "About 5 P. M.," wrote Sherman, "before the sun set, General Grant came again to me, and, after hearing my report of matters, explained to me the situation of affairs on the left, which was not as favorable; still, the enemy had failed to reach the landing of the boats. We agreed that the enemy had expended the *furore* of his attack, and we estimated our loss and approximated our then strength, including Lewis Wallace's fresh division, expected every minute. He then ordered me to get all things ready, and at daybreak the next day to assume the offensive. That was before General Buell had arrived, but he was known

to be near at hand. General Buell's troops took no essential part in the first day's fight, and Grant's army, though collected hastily together, green as militia, some regiments arriving without cartridges even, and nearly all hearing the dread sound of battle for the first time, had successfully withstood and repelled the first day's terrific onset of a superior army, well commanded and well handled. I knew I had orders from General Grant to assume the offensive before I knew General Buell was on the west side of the Tennessee. . . . I understood Grant's forces were to advance on the west side of the Corinth road, and Buell on the left (this was on Monday), and accordingly at daylight I advanced my division by the flank, the resistance being trivial, up to the very spot where the day before the battle had been most severe, and there waited until near noon for Buell's troops to get up abreast, when the entire line advanced and recovered all the ground we had ever held. I knew that, with the exception of one or two severe struggles, the fighting of April 7th was easy as compared with that of April 6th. I never was disposed, nor am I now, to question anything done by General Buell and his army, and know that, approaching our field of battle from the rear, he encountered that sickening crowd of stragglers and fugitives that excited his contempt and that of his army, who never gave full credit to those in the front line who did fight hard, and who had, at 4 P. M., checked the enemy and were preparing the next day to assume the offensive."

About four o'clock, on Sunday afternoon, the

time when the sanguinary contest may be said to have ceased, the head of Nelson's division of Buell's army arrived on the field, and took up a position on the left, while Wallace's division, from Crump's Landing, came on the ground after dark, and occupied a position on Sherman's right. Although the fighting was substantially over for the day, their arrival on the field had a noticeably good effect upon the worn-out and somewhat dispirited troops. Before midnight twenty-five thousand fresh troops had crossed the river and taken position on the left of Grant's army, being placed there by Buell. Having made all his dispositions for the second day's battle, and said to his staff, "It was tough work to-day, but we'll beat them to-morrow," the weary soldier sat down in the rain at the foot of a tree, after twelve o'clock, to get a few hours' sleep before the dawn of the coming day.

When the battle began at early daylight on Monday the Union line was formed as follows: Nelson on the extreme left, then in order Crittenden, McCook, Hurlbut, McClernand, Sherman, and Lewis Wallace, what was left of Prentiss's and W. H. L. Wallace's divisions being divided among the other commanders of the Army of the Tennessee. Nelson was first attacked as he was himself advancing to attack; next the center came into action, and soon the whole Union line was engaged. The accession of Buell's army, nearly doubling our effective force, told at once, and the Confederates were forced to give ground. The enemy made fierce attacks upon our left, with the vain hope of gaining the Landing, the prize almost within their

grasp at the close of Sunday's action, but were gallantly repulsed, their whole line being gradually forced back till all the lost ground was regained. By four o'clock Beauregard saw the uselessness of any further efforts, and reluctantly gave orders for the army to retreat. Our troops, worn out with two days' continuous fighting, and Buell's command also much exhausted by Sunday's marching and Monday's conflict, were in no condition to make a vigorous pursuit, and the Union army encamped that night on substantially the same ground it had occupied before the battle. Beauregard fell back with his discomfited army to Corinth, without having crushed Grant, as he vaingloriously threatened. On the 8th he applied to the Union commander, under a flag of truce, for permission to bury his dead, but that duty had been already performed for friend and foe alike.

Grant's loss, including that of Buell's army, was twelve thousand two hundred and seventeen, while the enemy's loss was unquestionably much greater, notwithstanding Beauregard's report, in which it is officially stated as being but ten thousand six hundred and twenty-eight. The Confederates lost their leader, Albert Sidney Johnston, killed in the first day's fight, while we had to mourn the loss of W. H. L. Wallace and the capture of Prentiss, who, unwilling to fall back, although the line had retreated on each side of him, leaving his flanks exposed and in the air, was surrounded, and with four regiments of his command, taken prisoners.

We could fill many pages with the relation of heroic deeds and interesting incidents of the battle

of Shiloh, with descriptions of the sufferings of the sick and wounded, and with accounts of the shocking scenes and sights of that Golgotha, did the scope of this biography permit. Strange to say, that Grant, who constantly exposed himself both in the Mexican and civil wars, and who in the latter frequently rendered his staff officers exceedingly uncomfortable by what they deemed unnecessary exposure, was never wounded. At Shiloh, on the second day, he was saved by a bullet striking his scabbard and breaking it near the sword hilt, which otherwise would probably have inflicted a mortal wound, thus presenting the remarkable circumstance of the commanders of both armies being fatally wounded at almost the identical hour of each day's severe struggle.

During Sunday's sanguinary fighting a middle-aged man, without coat or hat, was observed by a general officer standing behind the shelter of a tree, loading and firing with as much coolness as if he were shooting squirrels in lieu of "secesh." He had evidently seceded from his company and regiment, if he ever belonged to one, or was a Union man of the Tennessee, fighting on his own account, like the later John Burns of Gettysburg. He would raise his gun, take deliberate aim, and fire, eagerly watching the result. If successful in bringing down one of the enemy, he made a chalk mark on his cartridge box. Three times he was seen to discharge his unerring rifle with the same result, and each time the modern Leatherstocking indorsed one on his account. A moment after a shell struck the tree, crashing through the trunk, instantly kill-

ing the rifieman. The following Tuesday, when the dead were buried, his body was found, with one hand still grasping the fatal rifle, while by his side was his cartridge box, on which his chalk marks were still visible. He lies interred at the foot of the tree, in a nameless grave, and his gun, which was the messenger of death to his enemies on that memorable Sunday, now hangs in a Northern library, with other war trophies, as a memento of the battlefield of Shiloh.

In the country around Pittsburg Landing the inclosures are all the old Virginia snake fence, in the angle of which a person may sit and be supported on both sides. In such an angle, and with his feet braced against a small tree, sat a man apparently thirty or thirty-five years of age, bolt upright, and gazing at a locket in his hand. Approaching nearer, it was discovered that he was dead and rigid, his stiffened feet so braced against the tree that he could not fall forward, and the fence supporting him behind on each side. His eyes were open and fixed with a horrible stony stare on the daguerreotype, which was held in both hands. In a hasty glance over his shoulder, it was seen that the picture was that of a woman and child, the wife and daughter, doubtless, of the dead man, upon whom the eyes of the husband and father had not, even in death, ceased to gaze. In vain would that wife and child watch and wait, in their distant Alabama home, for the soldier's return. Like the rifleman, he now sleeps in a nameless grave, and his hands still grasp the counterfeit presentment of the widow and orphaned child.

A week after the battle, while out with a reconnoitering party on the Corinth road, we came suddenly upon one of the most shocking sights ever beheld. Just over the crest of a hill, on the sloping bank of a small stream, some thirty yards distant from the highway, we saw about twenty Confederate soldiers lying dead on the ground, several so black in the face that we mistook them for negroes until, upon closer examination, we were undeceived by the color of their hair and hands. They were in such a frightful condition that it was impossible to approach them closely, or we should have thrown some of the numerous articles of clothing lying around over their faces. Orders had been issued by General Grant for the burial of all the dead of both armies, but these poor fellows, probably killed in the pursuit of Monday, had escaped the notice of the burial parties. They were immediately interred when the facts were made known on our return.

A few days after the battle the author heard our hero make a clever reply to a civilian visitor from the North, who said, "General Grant, were you not surprised by the Confederates?" To which calmly and deliberately came the crushing reply, "No, but I am now." With what a neat and easy turn of the wrist the commander ran the unhappy victim through! Years after I recalled the circumstance to Grant, and asked if he was aware that he had made the identical answer which a stupid guest, dining at Apsley House, London, had received from Wellington when he blurted out the question, "Pray, duke, were you surprised at Waterloo?" The general remembered having somewhere heard or read

the story, but had no recollection of his own reply, with which and the coincidence he appeared not a little amused.

Grant enjoyed telling a little story of the first day's battle of Shiloh, when Sherman saw a soldier making a rapid movement to the rear, and demanded in a stern voice, "What are you running for?" to which the frightened man shouted as he dashed past, "Because I can't fly!" The ball from the general's pistol missed him, and he soon joined the panic-stricken crowd of raw troops who sought safety from the Confederate fire under the bluff near Pittsburg Landing.

General Grant began his dispatches giving an account of the conflict of Shiloh in these words: "It becomes my duty again to report another battle, fought by two great armies, one contending for the best government ever desired, and the other for its destruction. It is pleasant to record the success of the army contending for the former principle." The news of this great contest spread like wildfire through the North. When the telegram reached Washington a member of the House of Representatives rose in his place and asked leave to read it; amid cheers on every side rose the cry, "To the clerk's desk!" When Mr. Colfax had read the glad tidings, the breathless silence was suddenly broken by the most enthusiastic expressions of delight. A salute of one hundred guns was fired, and the hero was thanked by the War Department.

During the afternoon of the first day, when General Buell arrived on the field and found the Union army had been driven back, he said to Grant,

"If you are beaten, how will you get your troops across the river? Those transports will not take ten thousand men." "If I am compelled to cross the Tennessee," said Grant, "ten thousand will be all that I shall need transports for." Two hours later he said to Sherman: "Reform your ranks and attack the enemy in your front at break of day. It is always an advantage to be the attacking party, and we must fire the first gun to-morrow morning." The general said of the battle of Shiloh: "No such contest ever took place on this continent. In its results it was one of our greatest victories." On another occasion he remarked, "It was a case of Southern dash against Northern endurance," which very correctly describes the two days' struggle. The battle of Shiloh was unquestionably a victory for the North, in this that the effort to crush Grant before Buell joined him signally failed. Johnston did not make good his boast that "To-night we will water our horses in the Tennessee River."

Again after this victory Grant was assailed with charges affecting his honor as a man and ability as a soldier. It was said that he was surprised in his camp; that he had made a fatal mistake in not throwing up intrenchments to secure his position; that he was a butcher—referring to the loss of life incurred by fighting his men in the open; that he was intoxicated while the battle was raging. Grant himself maintained a dignified silence in the face of this storm of detraction. He did not rush into print with unseemly haste in his own defense. But in his reports, and later in his Memoirs, he effectually disposed of the charges that he was surprised and

that he committed a fatal error in not intrenching. As to the first, he showed that the Union forces began the attack, and, as to the second, that most of his troops had come to him scarcely knowing how to load and fire a musket, and that he thought it more important, as the position of his army was a strong one, to teach them the use of other arms than picks and shovels.

General Grant's friends, however, were not silent in his behalf. Perhaps no man was ever more ably defended. On the floor of the House of Representatives, Mr. Washburne protested strongly, in an eloquent speech, against the outrageous abuse to which the victorious general was subjected. Another of Grant's defenders was General Sherman, who sent several vigorous and characteristic letters in answer to a lieutenant governor of Ohio, who had written abusive and untruthful statements about Grant. He was never again elected to any public office, and was commonly spoken of as " the late Mr. Stanton." It must be remembered that even Washington did not escape detraction during the war of the Revolution, and that efforts were made to supersede him in the command of the American army; that the deposition of Wellington was demanded and his humiliation in the eyes of Europe, at the very moment that he was successfully defending Spain against the conqueror of the Old World, who a few years later was defeated by the English soldier at Waterloo, as Lee was at Appomattox, by the commander whose career we are recording.

Antietam, Chickamauga, Gettysburg, and Shiloh have within a few years been acquired and desig-

nated by the Government as national military parks and reservations. On the thirty-third anniversary of the two days' fierce struggle of April, 1862, the Shiloh Battlefield Association held a reunion on the spot where eighty thousand fighting men fought for the mastery and four thousand laid down their lives. Appropriate exercises were conducted in a memorial church near the little log church, around which the men of the North and the South met in deadly conflict. A grand stand was erected close by for the occasion, and canopied with the national flag. "Welcome to the Blue and Gray," was the legend on the outside, while within were Grant's memorable words, "Let us have peace." Among the seven thousand veterans present were Generals Buell and Prentiss of the North, and Generals A. P. Stewart and Joseph Wheeler of the South. The best of good feeling prevailed, and, as was said by Buell in an eloquent address, "All past differences were buried, and only brotherly love remained."* A statement was received and read from General Lewis Wallace, of Indiana, setting forth the reasons why his division did not arrive on the battlefield earlier on April 6th. It was in part as follows:

It is known to many, if not all, of you that for years I was held responsible for the disasters which overtook the Federal army the first day of the strug-

* At the third annual reunion of the Shiloh Battlefield Association on Memorial Day, 1896, the first monument erected there in honor of fallen comrades was unveiled by an Illinois regiment, and ten thousand white cape jessamine flowers were sent by Texan comrades to place on the graves of the Blue and Gray who died on that famous field.

gle, disasters all of which occurred before I received an order to march to the field. There were men in high position who charged that I was laggard in going to the fight, that it took me the whole day to make six miles, that I lost my way, and that when found I was moving from the battle, not toward it. It is true General Grant, when dying, exonerated me from these terrible accusations, but as the years go, whitening my head, I grow more and more anxious to support General Grant's exoneration with facts and leave it above all impeachment, and this not less for the honor of the brave men who were my comrades in that trial than my own. Accordingly, I have been spending both these anniversary days reviewing my march from Crump's Landing to Pittsburg Landing, and making out distinctly the two miles and more over which my division fought, never once yielding an inch of ground, through the second day. We did not merely step the route. I employed the surveyor of Hardin County and paid his chain and consulted his compass as he followed us. Instead of six miles, by actual chain measurement my division moved full seventeen miles from half-past eleven in the forenoon till dusk in the evening. Instead of going from the fight, every step was toward it. Ask any soldier of either side if fourteen miles are not the average day's march for a division of infantry under the most favorable circumstances. Yet that day we moved over eighteen miles, under disadvantages seldom encountered. My first objective point in the movement was the right of the army. As it was in the morning of Sunday, my cavalry held the bridge over Owl Creek, within half a mile of Sherman's camp, which was the extreme right. Then, in the face of defeat, General Grant sent me orders to come to Pittsburg Landing by the lower road, and our desperate efforts to reach him in good time drove us a long circuit entirely around the left of the rebel

army. At dusk we were in position. Next morning, in the gray of the dawn, we opened the battle and fought it through to the end.

It is an admitted fact that almost the same condition of things existed in the rear of the Confederate army as was seen by General Buell when he arrived at Pittsburg Landing, with the addition of many others who had deserted their colors to plunder the captured national camps. Had General Wallace continued on as he seriously contemplated doing, crossed Owl Creek, and made a vigorous assault with his five thousand veteran troops on the Confederate rear, while General Nelson with his fresh division pressed them in front, it is exceedingly doubtful if there would have been any fighting to be done on the following day. Two years later, at City Point, Grant told General Wallace that if he had known at Shiloh what he then knew, he (Grant) would have ordered Wallace to cross the Owl Creek bridge and attack the rear of the enemy. In a recent communication to the author, General Wallace writes: "Who shall tell the result had I been permitted to go on in my march? Many a time in my dreams I have beheld Thayer's deployed regiments moving through those tented streets, a wave crested with bayonets, and heard the demoralized hordes rushing panic-struck upon their engaged lines. And still, in moments when personal ambition gets the better of me, I hold Rowley's coming my greatest quarrel with Fortune. Oh, if he had remained lost in the woods an hour longer!"

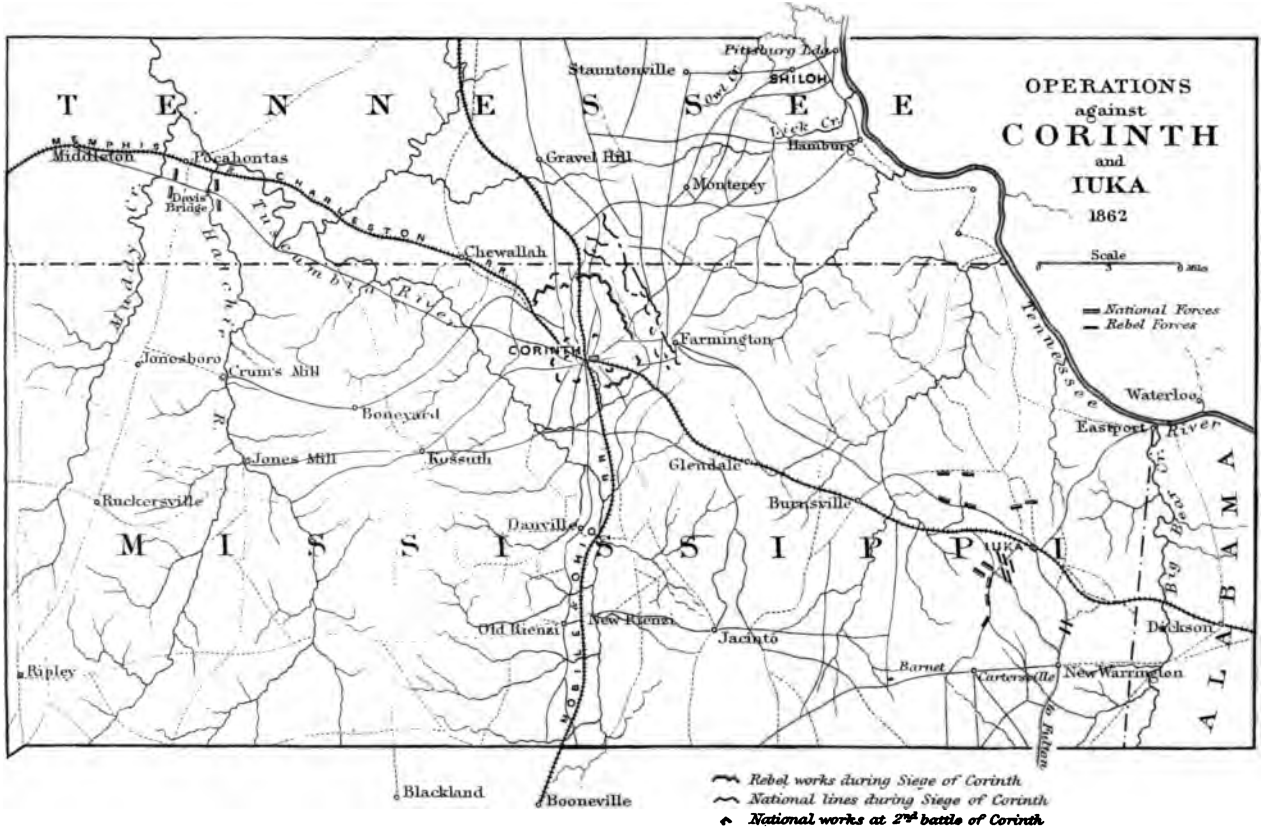
When asked many months after the battle of Shiloh what event could have happened to have

changed the result, General Grant answered that had either himself or General Sherman been seriously wounded before the formation of the last line near the river was completed, between four and five o'clock, the field would probably have been lost; but that had the veteran division of Wallace, with their five thousand muskets, reached the scene of the struggle at the time above mentioned, the Confederates would have been defeated and driven back so far before nightfall that there would have been no battle on the following day. Grant was deeply disappointed in not being permitted to pursue the enemy vigorously. After Shiloh he became convinced that the war would never cease until the armies of the South were destroyed, and that they, rather than cities and territories, should be the chief objects of the strategy which controlled the more numerous forces and greatly superior resources of the Government.

CHAPTER VII.

IUKA, CORINTH, AND THE HATCHIE.

On the 11th of April General Halleck arrived at Pittsburg Landing and assumed command of the united Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio. The forces were reorganized and called the Army of the Mississippi. General Thomas commanded the right, composed mostly of Grant's troops, Buell the left, and General Pope commanded the center, consisting chiefly of troops which accompanied him from Island No. 10, while McClernand was assigned to the command of the reserve, composed of his and Wallace's divisions. Grant was named second in command of the whole, and was also supposed to be in command of the right wing and reserve, but was really in disgrace after the arrival of Halleck, who was known in the large army of about one hundred and twenty thousand men as "Old Brains." Although Thomas, commanding the right wing, and General McClernand, the reserves, were Grant's subordinates, orders were, contrary to military usages, sent directly to them without his being made aware of their contents, and movements were executed by his own troops with-


OPERATIONS
against
CORINTH
and
IUKA
1862
Scale
National Forces
Rebel Forces
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
Stantonville
Pittsburg Landing
SHILOH
Lick Cr.
Hamburg
Gravel Hill
Monterey
Pocahontas
Middleton
Davis Bridge
Muddy Cr.
Chewallah
Farmington
CORINTH
Jonesboro
Crum's Mill
Boneyard
Jones Mill
Russuth
Ruckersville
Glendale
Burnsville
Danville
Waterloo
Eastport
Tennessee River
Big Bear Cr.
IUKA
Old Iuka
New Iuka
Jacinto
Barnet
Cartersville
New Warrington
Dickson
Ripley
Blackland
Booneville
Rebel works during Siege of Corinth
National lines during Siege of Corinth
National works at 2nd battle of Corinth

out his knowledge. Grant writes: "Orders were given to all commanders engaged at Shiloh to send in their reports to department headquarters. Those from the Army of the Tennessee were sent through me, but from the Army of the Ohio they were sent by General Buell, without passing through my hands. General Halleck ordered me verbally to send in my report, but I positively declined, on the ground that he had received the reports of a part of the army engaged at Shiloh without their coming through me. He admitted that my refusal was justifiable under the circumstances, but explained that he wanted to get the reports off before moving the command, and as fast as a report had come to him he had forwarded it to Washington."

Everything being in readiness, Halleck's Army of the Mississippi, reorganized in sixteen divisions, moved forward, on April 30th, to drive Beauregard and the Confederate forces from their strongly fortified position at Corinth. The exterior line of the national army was fifteen miles long, and at every road crossing there were either strong redoubts or batteries with massive epaulements, while the troops under the Confederate general's command numbered at least forty thousand less than the army led by General Halleck. On the 3d of May our advance reached a point eight miles from Corinth, and the same day a portion of Pope's command captured Farmington, abandoned after slight resistance on the part of the enemy, nearly five thousand strong. The Union army moved forward slowly under Halleck's Fabian policy, using the spade for the first time in Western campaigning, no advance

being made without intrenchments, as the cautious commander did not propose that the Confederates should steal upon him unawares. Our army was anxious to push forward and attack Beauregard, whom we so largely outnumbered, but when Grant ventured while at headquarters, and the subject of the evacuation of Corinth was being discussed, to recommend an immediate attack on the extreme right of the Union line, where the enemy's ranks were weakened, to be followed by an assault along the whole line, his advice was scouted by Halleck, who suggested that General Grant's opinions need not be offered until asked for, and, in accordance with this intimation, he did not again during the siege obtrude them. It may be here remarked that after Corinth fell, and Grant had entered the Confederate works, he satisfied himself beyond all doubt that, had the attack been made as he suggested, the place might have been taken and its army destroyed or captured.

On May 30th the Army of the Mississippi was drawn up in line of battle awaiting the Confederate onset, the commanding general having announced on the morning of May 30th to his command, that "there is every indication that the enemy will attack our left this morning," it was suddenly discovered that the birds were flown, leaving quaker guns and barren defenses to impose upon us as long as possible. The evacuation had been going on for two days, but it was not discovered until clouds of smoke and sheets of flame announced that Beauregard, before retreating, had fired the town. As his rear guard moved out on the southern road, our advance

moved in. Buell and Pope were sent in pursuit, but accomplished little, and, after a fruitless chase of ten days, were recalled to Corinth. The former was soon after detached and sent to Chattanooga, Pope was ordered to Virginia, and General Grant established his headquarters at Memphis, captured, June 6th, after a brilliant naval combat on the Mississippi.

Before his departure for Memphis General Grant's humiliating position in Halleck's army became intolerable, and he applied for leave to visit St. Louis, which was granted. Sherman, before leaving Corinth on a short expedition, called to take leave of General Halleck, who casually mentioned that Grant was going away the next morning. General Sherman inquired the cause, and was told that he did not know, but that Grant had asked for and received leave of absence for thirty days. "Of course we all knew," writes Sherman, "that he was chafing under the slights of his anomalous position, and I determined to see him on my way back. His camp was a short distance off the Monterey road, in the woods, and consisted of four or five tents, with a sapling railing around the front. As I rode up, Majors Rawlins, Lagow, and Hillyer were in front of the camp, and piled up near them was the usual office and camp chests all ready for a start in the morning. I inquired for the general, and was shown to his tent, where I found him seated on a camp stool with papers on a rude camp table" (it consisted of a board resting on two empty barrels—Author), "and tying them up with red tape in convenient bundles. After passing the usual compli-

ments, I inquired if it was true that he was going away. He said 'Yes.' I then inquired the reason, and he said, 'Sherman, you know. You know that I am in the way here. I have stood it as long as I can, and can endure it no longer.' I inquired where he was going, and he answered, 'St. Louis.' I then asked if he had any business there, and he said, 'Not a bit.' I then begged him to stay, illustrating his case by my own. Before the battle of Shiloh I had been cast down by a mere newspaper assertion of 'crazy,' but that single battle had given me new life, and I was now in high feather; and I argued with him that, if he went away, events would go right along, and he would be left out, whereas, if he remained, some happy accident might restore him to favor and to his true place. He certainly appreciated my friendly advice, and promised to wait awhile; at all events, not to go without seeing me again or communicating with me. Very soon after this I was ordered to Chewalla, where, on the 6th of June, I received a note from him saying that he had reconsidered his intention, and would remain." *

On July 11th General Halleck was assigned to the command of "the whole land forces of the United States as general in chief," and immediately repaired to Washington, at the same time directing Grant to leave Memphis and establish his headquarters at Corinth. His jurisdiction was not, however, enlarged by Halleck's promotion; on the contrary, as we learn from the following letter, the new general in chief first offered the command of the

* Memoirs of General Sherman, vol. i, p. 283.

Army of the Tennessee not to Buell, or Thomas, or Sherman, or Nelson, or McClernand, but to Colonel Robert Allen, a quartermaster, who declined it, whereupon Grant was permitted to retain the command. Allen's letter, dated July 9, 1866, giving an account of the manner in which the position was offered to him, is as follows: "I had joined General Halleck a short time subsequent to the fall of Corinth, and was attached to his immediate command, when he received the appointment of general in chief, with orders to repair at once to Washington. Shortly after, he came to my tent. . . . After a somewhat protracted conversation, he turned to me and said, 'Now what can I do for *you?*' I replied that I did not know that he could do anything. 'Yes,' he rejoined, 'I can give you command of this army.' I replied, 'I have not rank.' 'That,' said he, 'can easily be obtained.' I do not remember exactly what my reply was to this, but it was to the effect that I doubted the expediency of such a measure, identified as I was with the enormous business and expenditures of the quartermaster's department, from which it was almost impracticable to relieve me at that time. Other reasons were mentioned, and he did not press the subject. It is true that I was congratulated on the prospect of succeeding to the command before I had mentioned the subject of this interview."

While General Grant's headquarters were at Memphis it bid fair, with its swarms of crafty secessionists, speculators, gamblers, and unprincipled Jewish traders, to be of more value to the rebels than when held by the insurgents themselves, in-

asmuch as everything in the way of supplies which the enemy needed was smuggled through the lines to them. This business was carried on in good part by Jews, desperate for gain, who often succeeded in passing our pickets under cover of night. Many a midnight chase the writer and the cavalry regiment he had the honor to command has had after the Memphis smugglers, and many an ambulance, drawn by a pair of horses or mules, and loaded down with well-filled trunks, containing medicine and other contraband articles, did the troopers of the Fifteenth Illinois capture, which were endeavoring to escape to the Confederates, after evading the cavalry and infantry pickets posted around Memphis. General Grant issued various stringent orders regarding slaves, treasonable traders, and guerrillas—all clear and statesmanlike.

The disposition made of fugitive negroes was practical—they were put to useful employment and kindly treated while awaiting the further action of the Government concerning them. This was before the country had been educated to the propriety of putting guns in their hands. The illicit traffic was gradually broken up, and Memphis ceased to be a base of supplies for the enemy; disloyal utterances by the press were discontinued, and quiet and order reigned in the city.

A few miles out of Memphis was the beautiful residence of a wealthy lawyer named L——. On his plantation was encamped a brigade of our troops, and it was deemed a military necessity that the grand old elms and oaks should be cut down. As the Southern owner, notwithstanding his ap-

peals that his trees might be spared, saw them falling around him until not a single one was left, his mind was so affected that his reason gradually gave way, and he became a hopeless idiot. When the brigade commander was asked by the writer why he could not have spared the trees, his answer was brief—but four words—"'Twas a military necessity."

The period from July 17th, when General Halleck departed for Washington, to the battle of Corinth on October 3d, was one of great care and anxiety to Grant—the most anxious and harassing period of the war to him, he remarks in his Memoirs. His forces had been taken from him to reenforce Buell, then beginning his advance on Chattanooga, and he was left to defend a large area of country exposed at various points to incursions from the enemy, and inhabited by a population unfriendly to the Union, who might be trusted to convey to his opponents immediate and minute intelligence of his every movement. Until September he was occupied with what might be termed the civil affairs of his district, but early in the latter month he learned that Generals Van Dorn and Price were moving north, evidently upon Corinth, in pursuance of a concerted plan for an advance all along the Confederate line from the Mississippi to the Atlantic seaboard.

It was a dark hour for the Union cause. On the left, Pope had been defeated in Virginia, and Lee was invading Maryland. In the center, Buell was falling back on Louisville, with Bragg, in command of a large force, advancing by parallel roads

and aiming for the Ohio River. If Grant could be driven back, the Union line would stand precisely where it was when the conflict began two years before. General Grant was aware of this, and it increased vastly his sense of responsibility. He had sent so many men to Buell that he had but fifty thousand in his command. Of these two divisions were at Corinth and supporting points. There were also at Corinth Davies's division, two brigades of McArthur's division, with cavalry and artillery, the whole commanded by Rosecrans, and forming Grant's left wing. His center, extending from Bethel to Humboldt on the Mobile and Alabama Railroad, and from Jackson to Bolivar, where the Mississippi Central crosses the Hatchie River, was commanded by General Ord. Sherman held the right at Memphis, having two of his brigades at Brownsville, where the Hatchie is crossed by the Memphis and Ohio Railroad. These places were held not so much from their strategic importance, but because the troops could be easily concentrated from them at any threatened point.

By the 12th all of Rosecrans's force had been combined at Corinth, except a small detachment under Colonel R. C. Murphy, of the Eighth Wisconsin, which had been detailed to guard the stores at Iuka, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, twenty miles from Corinth. Affairs were in this posture when, on the 13th, Price's forces occupied Iuka, driving out Colonel Murphy and his handful of men. Grant rightly divined that Price's object was to re-enforce Bragg in Tennessee. Van Dorn was but a few days' march behind with a large force,

evidently aiming to join Price at Corinth, where their two routes would converge.

Grant resolved to attack Price before Van Dorn could reach him. The forces at Bolivar and the supporting points were concentrated at Corinth. Then Ord was sent by rail to Burnsville, about seven miles west of Iuka, with orders to attack Price from the northwest, while Rosecrans was to move from his position south of Corinth by the Fulton road, which enters Iuka from the east, and attack from that quarter. A smaller column was to move from Rosecrans's position by the Jacinto road and attack from the northeast.

Ord arrived at his position on the 18th, and there intrenched, as ordered, waiting until Rosencrans should come up on the morning of the 19th, when a simultaneous attack was to be made. Grant remained at Burnsville with nine hundred men in easy communication by courier with his wings, following the movements of Van Dorn, and prepared to checkmate a possible movement of the latter against Corinth should he attempt it. Ord met the enemy in his advance from Burnsville, but drove them back, and, as before remarked, was ready to attack at the appointed hour. Rosecrans, however, failed to come up in time. About midnight Grant received a dispatch from him, saying that he was at Jacinto, twenty-two miles from Iuka, that his command had been delayed, but that he would reach Iuka by two o'clock next day. Grant doubted this, but sent the dispatch to Ord, with orders to attack the moment he heard guns to the south or southeast. He waited all day of the 19th, with no

news of Rosecrans; the latter, on reaching Barnets, where the Jacinto road to Iuka left the road running east, moved his whole column by that road, not sending any troops by the Fulton road, reasoning, perhaps, that it was a roundabout course, and would consume too much time.

While moving up the Jacinto road General Rosecrans met a force of the enemy, and was beaten back, losing many men and a battery. The wind was blowing hard from the north, so that neither Grant nor Ord heard the guns of this action, and the former was only apprised of it by the arrival of a courier late at night. He at once directed Ord to attack in the morning. But Rosecrans's failure to throw troops into the Fulton road had left that way of escape open, and during the night Price retreated by it and joined Van Dorn and Lovell in Tippah County, Mississippi, whence the united force moved on Corinth. After the engagement Grant issued an address to the army, concluding with these words, "While congratulating the noble living, it is meet to offer our condolences to the friends of the heroic dead, who offered their lives a sacrifice in defense of constitutional liberty, and in their fall rendered memorable the field of Iuka."

Grant was for some time uncertain where the blow would fall, but, when it became evident that Corinth would be attacked, he ordered General McPherson, who was at Jackson, to collect his scattered detachments along the railroad and join Rosecrans at Corinth, while Ord and Hurlbut were directed to advance from Bolivar by way of Pocahontas, and be prepared to attack General Van

Dorn in flank or rear should they not be in time to enter the town.

The battle of Corinth was begun by the Confederates on October 2d, but was confined on that day to the preliminary skirmishing which is usually the *avant courrier* of a conflict. The next day the battle was begun in earnest, and our troops who had occupied advanced positions were driven back, with considerable confusion and loss, to the works around Corinth, which the forethought of Grant had ordered to be constructed when he assumed command in July. These fortifications undoubtedly saved the army on the evening of the 3d. On the following morning the enemy, in high spirits from the successes of the previous day, renewed the battle with great fierceness. This column charged again and again, only to be driven back, shattered and bleeding. Still again, they are urged forward by their leaders, and the men come up with their faces averted as if striving to protect themselves against a driving storm of hail, and finally "the ragged head of the column" penetrate our ranks, but are quickly driven back and over the broad glacis with severe loss. Our regiments, swarming over their works, chase the broken fragments of the Confederate column back to the works; many crouching in the abatis surrender at discretion. Thus ended, about noon, the fiercely contested battle of Corinth.

The general, in his address to his army, said: "The enemy chose his own time and place of attack, and knowing the troops of the West as he does, and with great facilities for knowing their

numbers, never would have made the attempt except with a superior force numerically. But for the undaunted bravery of officers and soldiers, who have yet to learn defeat, the efforts of the enemy must have proven successful."

The enemy retreated to the Hatchie, about ten miles distant, and were there struck by Hurlbut and Ord, as Grant had planned, and lost numerous men and guns, and had Rosecrans pursued as instructed, the whole Confederate army would have been destroyed or captured. As it was, by the delay of Rosecrans to pursue, Van Dorn and Price succeeded in getting away with such of their forces as had escaped death and capture. General Grant closed his dispatch to Washington communicating his success with these words, "I have strained everything to take into the fight an adequate force, and to get them in the right place." No sooner had the good news been received at the capital than the President sent over the wires to General Grant the following message: "I congratulate you and all concerned in your recent battles and victories. How does it all sum up? I especially regret the death of General Hackleman, and am very anxious to know the condition of General Oglesby, who is an intimate personal friend." The significant inquiry, "How does it all sum up?" may be briefly answered. The enemy's loss was upward of eight thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, together with numerous guns and standards, while those who escaped were very greatly demoralized by their repeated defeats and by the pursuit which was continued by the entire army for forty miles,

and by the cavalry for sixty. Iuka, Corinth, and the Hatchie relieved Grant's inadequate forces, which he handled with such consummate skill, from all immediate danger, and relieved for a time western Tennessee from the tread of hostile forces.

Among the heroic regiments that served at Corinth was the Eighth Iowa, whose stalwart standard bearer carried a living and noble specimen of an American eagle in the place of a flag. The latter would fly off over the battlefield during the sanguinary struggle, and then return and perch upon the small platform at the end of his pole, clap his pinions, and then sail grandly aloft, accompanied by the cheers of the regiment, always returning to his post, seemingly regardless of the screaming shot and shell or the *ping* of the hailstorm of bullets.

In October Rosecrans was assigned to the command of the Department of the Ohio, superseding Buell, and Grant's command, the Department of the Tennessee, was considerably enlarged. It included Cairo, Forts Henry and Donelson, northern Mississippi, and those portions of Kentucky and Tennessee west of the river of that name. His headquarters were continued at Jackson, from which point he could best direct, organize, and overlook his colossal command. Re-enforcements and supplies were now forwarded to him with a view to making a march into the interior of Mississippi and capturing the Western Gibraltar, as the Confederates vaingloriously called Vicksburg. Grant now divided his department into four districts, and assigned the four divisions of his army as follows: Sherman, with the first division, com-

manded the district of Memphis; Hurlbut, with the second, that of Jackson; the district of Corinth, by Hamilton, with the third division; and that of Columbus was in command of Davis, with the fourth. Grant's great administrative abilities were now displayed in preparations for the new campaign, and perhaps the most brilliant in the annals of the civil war of 1861–'65.

Before entering upon another chapter, in which will be told the story of this famous siege, we must again recur to the groundless stories, which continued to obtain circulation, concerning General Grant's habits of self-indulgence. It is difficult to ascertain the precise truth with regard to the private personal habits of men who have become distinguished in public affairs. The tongue of slander is busy against them, and, on the other hand, a zealous partisanship is always ready to magnify their virtues and to cover or deny their faults. No charge is more common against eminent Americans than that of intemperance; and it is far easier to make such an accusation, and to gain credence for it in the public mind, than to disprove it by competent and available testimony. In the early stages of the war, the ready solution of a defeat to the Union arms was the inebriety of the commanding general. Banks was intoxicated at the Sabine Cross Roads; Hooker was under the influence of stimulants at Chancellorsville; Grant was drunk at Shiloh, at least during the disaster of the first day; and now rumours were again current about the general's free indulgence in whisky. Like Banquo's ghost, they would not down. Influences were again

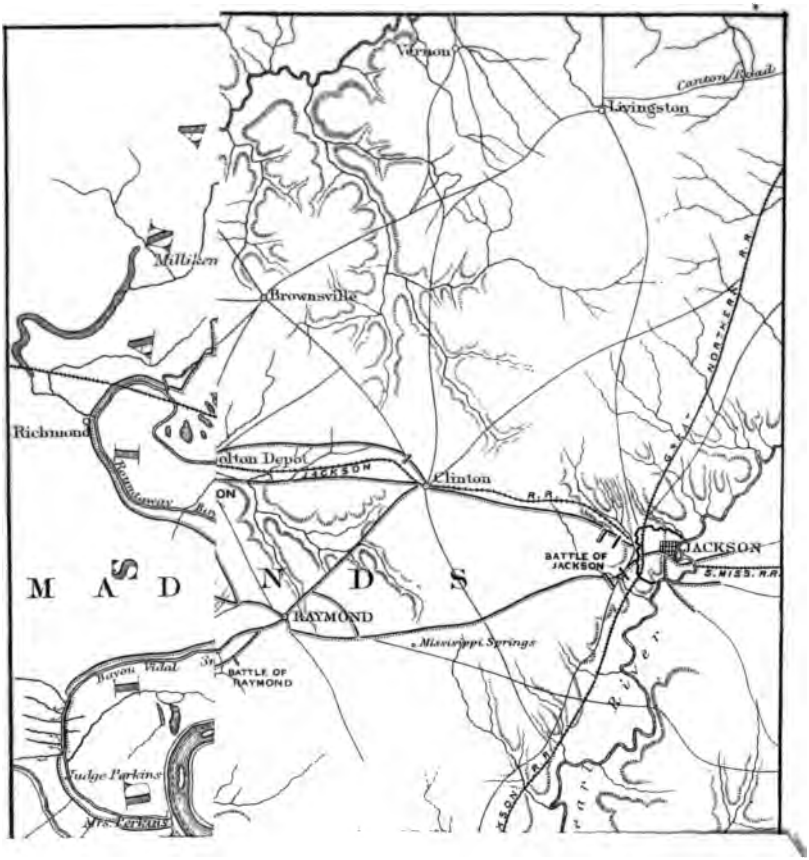
at work at Washington to have Grant removed from his command, but the witty reply of the President after the victory at Corinth, "I wish that all the generals would drink Grant's whisky," showed how little credit he gave to the slanders. Some one was disparaging Grant in Sherman's presence, when the latter broke out with, "It won't do, sir, it won't do; Grant is a great general. He stood by me when I was crazy, and I stood by him when he was drunk, and now, sir, we stand by each other," by which he, of course, intended to convey the impression that he no more believed his commander to be a drunkard than he believed himself to be insane. This hue and cry against Grant was chiefly the work of newspaper correspondents and the adherents of less successful soldiers or political leaders, who wished to aid their friends by defaming Grant, and it appeared to trouble him less than it did his admirers and troops of friends in the Western armies. If any one repeated what was said by such a paper or person, he only—smoked.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

On November 2d, having completed all his preparations, Grant began his movement against Vicksburg by an advance into Mississippi with a force of thirty thousand men. All his energies were now concentrated on the capture of the Confederate stronghold, the key to the navigation of the Father of Waters. To epitomize its great value, we may quote General Sherman's words, "The possession of the Mississippi is the possession of America." While General Grant steadily pushed the enemy south, other co-operating movements were being made against Vicksburg by his lieutenants. In Sherman's sententious words, "Grant moved direct on Pemberton, while I moved from Memphis, and a smaller force, under Washburne, struck directly for Grenada; and the first thing Pemberton knew the depot of his supplies was almost in the grasp of a small cavalry force, and he fell back in confusion, and gave us the Tallahatchie without a battle." On the 29th Grant's headquarters were at Holly Springs, and six days later he entered Oxford, with his cavalry at Coffeeville, only eight-

The time for success in a movement southward



Oxford, with his cavalry at Cotteeville, only eight-

een miles from Grenada, the whole movement into Mississippi having been made without any serious fighting, and giving promise of the most complete success, when the cowardice and incapacity of Colonel Murphy, of the Eighth Wisconsin, who had been placed in command of Holly Springs, and who allowed this vast depot of supplies to be captured by the Confederates under Van Dorn without striking a blow in its defense, although previously warned that an attack was probable, deranged all Grant's admirably conceived plans for carrying Vicksburg, and rendered necessary a retrograde movement.

The enemy destroyed all the ordnance, subsistence, and quartermaster's stores accumulated there, valued at more than a million of dollars, and hastily evacuated the place before our troops fell back, as they were compelled to do. Murphy, the same officer who gave up Iuka to Price, was dismissed from the service. Had General Grant then known what he soon afterward learned, that an army could be subsisted without supplies other than those drawn from an enemy's country, he could have pushed on to the rear of Vicksburg, and probably have succeeded in capturing the place. Not knowing this fact, he fell back to Holly Springs, and ordered forward other supplies. Sherman, in the meantime, had moved down to Milliken's Bend, and not hearing from Grant, who was unable to communicate with him, made his unsuccessful assault at Chickasaw Bayou, but, after a three days' struggle, abandoned his attack against Vicksburg.

The time for success in a movement southward

by way of the Mississippi Central Railroad having passed, Grant gradually fell back with his army, and soon after removed his headquarters to Young's Point, a few miles above the city of Vicksburg, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and assumed personal control of operations. At this moment, January 30, 1863, the actual siege of Vicksburg began. The city was deemed by its defenders impregnable. It occupied the first high land or bluffs commanding the river below Memphis, and, in addition, was surrounded by such a network of rivers, bayous, and impassable swamps as to be unapproachable by land. The Yazoo, a large but sluggish river, flowing from the east, enters the Mississippi nine miles above Vicksburg. A series of bluffs on the east bank of the Yazoo left the latter river at Haines's Bluff, eleven miles above Vicksburg, and stretched across the neck of the peninsula formed by the junction of the Yazoo and Mississippi, striking the latter river at Vicksburg, and continuing down its left bank to Warrenton, six miles below.

There were heavy batteries at Haines's Bluff, and the high land from there to Vicksburg and thence to Warrenton was covered with batteries and rifle pits at suitable distances. The only approach to these batteries was through the swamps and marshes before described, and was rendered still more difficult at this time by the unprecedentedly high stage of water in the Mississippi, and which continued until the middle of April. The course of the Mississippi below Vicksburg is one of zigzags, the river flowing now east, now west through alluvial bottoms, often at right angles with its gen-

eral course. One of these bends began at Young's Point, where Grant had established his headquarters, the river at that point flowing due east until it struck the bluff on which Vicksburg stands, when it turned and flowed west by south, forming an acute angle, with the apex at Vicksburg and the base at Young's Point. This angle was scarcely a mile in width, and naval vessels attempting to run the batteries could be fired upon by guns at Warrenton across it miles before they came in range of the forts at Vicksburg.

The great problem that confronted Grant and his generals was the gaining a foothold on this high land east of the Mississippi. Several plans were considered. One was to return to Memphis, fortify it as a base of supplies, thence move south along the railroad to Jackson, Miss., and march upon Vicksburg from the rear or east. But this would involve a retrograde movement, and Grant dreaded its effect upon the loyal North. The nation almost despaired at this time, so great had been the reverses of the year, of ultimate success in the war that kept the Union whole. Enlistments had almost wholly ceased. The elections of 1862 had gone against the Union party, and a retreat at this juncture, he reasoned, would be contributing aid and comfort to the enemy.

The second plan was to cut a canal across the bend at Young's Point to the river below, pass his army through it on transports, and then effect a lodgment below. A canal had been cut across the neck the year before by General Williams, with the expectation that, in the annual rise of the Missis-

sippi, the current would form a new channel; but the canal had been begun at a point of the stream where there was an eddy, and this result had not followed. A force of four thousand men was now set to enlarging the canal, and continued until March 8th, when a flood in the river swept away a dam which had been built at the entrance to keep back the water, and work was suspended. Had it been completed, it is doubtful if it would have proved effective, as nearly its whole course was within range of the lower batteries at Warrenton.

The third plan was to march his army across the base of the peninsula on the west bank to a point below the fortifications, and then transport them by steamers to the eastern bank. For the success of the latter plan two things were essential—a lower stage of water and the presence of gunboats and steamers below Vicksburg for support and ferriage purposes. These Admiral David D. Porter (1813–'91) undertook to supply by running the gantlet of the batteries with his ironclad gunboats and transports. The last-named plan was eventually adopted.

By the 1st of April the water had so far fallen that the roads across the peninsula behind the levees of the bayous began to emerge, and preparations for the final movement were made. Porter himself undertook to prepare his steamers for the perilous enterprise. Their boilers and engines were the chief points to be protected, and this he effected by raising along the boiler deck a rampart of bales of hay and cotton and bags of grain. By April 16th the fleet was ready for the attempt. It consisted

of the flagship Benton, commanded by Porter in person, the Lafayette, with the steamer Price lashed to her side, the Louisville, Mound City, Pittsburg, and Carondelet gunboats. Following these came the transports Forest Queen, Silver Wave, and Henry Clay, each towing barges laden with coal for the use of the steamers when they should arrive below. Behind the barges was the gunboat Tuscumbia, bringing up the rear.

It was ten o'clock on a moonlight night when the fleet left Milliken's Bend, a few miles above Young's Point, and proceeded down the river. General Grant witnessed the result from the deck of a transport pushed out into the stream as near the batteries as prudence dictated. The dark hulls of the boats were plainly discernible in the moonlight, and the puffs of their exhaust pipes could be heard three miles away. Soon came a flash from a battery near Warrenton, and a solid shot whistled across the peninsula. Then followed a rocket from the upper batteries, and soon their guns joined in the grand chorus. The gunboats replied, seeming to vomit fire from sulphurous stomachs of smoke.

The bluffs and the city behind were revealed by murky flashes, and a rain of fire poured upon the devoted fleet, while mimic waterspouts sprang from the bosom of the river at the bursting of the shells. Soon a ten-inch shell pierced the boiler of the Henry Clay, and she blew up with a tremendous explosion, communicating fire not only to herself, but to the barges in tow, thus adding the terrors of conflagration to the scene. The enemy, too, lighted bonfires on the east bank, and set fire to houses on

the west shore to reveal the forms of the vessels. The critical moment came when the boats turned the point of the angle at Vicksburg, for there they met the concentrated fire of nearly all the batteries. Their hulls were pierced and torn until in places they resembled sieves, but only the Henry Clay was disabled, and, after bearing the hurricane of fire for more than two hours, the steamers came safely to anchor below the city.

Before this, on March 29th, McClernand, with his corps of four divisions, had been sent to seize New Carthage, on the west bank, some twenty-seven miles below Milliken's Bend in a straight line, though the troops were forced to march fully forty. He found the roads along the levee very bad. At Bayou Vidal, several miles above New Carthage, the levee had been cut, overflowing the roads for two miles. Troops and artillery were ferried across the crevasse, and on April 6th McClernand seized and held New Carthage with one division and its artillery. Here Grant visited him on the 17th, after Admiral Porter's success had made his plans feasible, and saw that some more expeditious method must be devised for transferring his army. McClernand's engineers, under Lieutenant Hains, had already surveyed a new route from above the crevasse to a point on the Mississippi some ten miles below New Carthage. To open this route four bridges across bayous—two of them six hundred feet long—must be built out of such crude material as was at hand, but the resources of the Northern soldier were equal to the task, the bridges were built, and the whole army, with cavalry, artillery,

and wagon trains, crossed them without mishap save the loss of a heavy thirty-two-pounder, which broke through the only pontoon bridge on the difficult route.

On April 20th Grant issued his order for the change of base to the east side of the river, and the final investment of Vicksburg began. McClernand's Thirteenth Army Corps was to constitute the right wing in these operations, the Fifteenth Corps, under Sherman, the left wing, and the Seventeenth, McPherson's, the center. Reserves were to be formed by divisions from each army corps. The soldiers marched light. One tent only was allowed each company for protection of rations against rain, one wall tent for each regimental, brigade, and division headquarters. As fast as the Thirteenth Corps advanced, its place was to be taken by the Seventeenth, and that was to be followed closely by the Fifteenth. Two regiments were to be detailed to guard the lines from Richmond to New Carthage, and general hospitals were established between Duckport and Milliken's Bend.

McClernand's corps, as we have seen, was already below the city. Two of McPherson's divisions marched immediately. The third was on its way from Lake Providence, where it had been sent to guard stores, and orders were left for it to join the main body on its arrival. Sherman's divisions, one each at Duckport and Young's Point, and one recalled from an expedition to Greenville, Miss., to silence a Confederate battery there, were ordered to follow McPherson. Six more steamers, bearing supplies and having twelve barges in tow laden

with rations, attempted to run the batteries on the night of April 22d. One steamer was sunk and about half the barges, but the others proved a welcome re-enforcement.

Reconnoissances showed no practicable landing place on the east bank above Grand Gulf, some twenty-two miles below New Carthage. The army accordingly rendezvoused at a little hamlet called Hard Times, on the west bank, nearly opposite Grand Gulf, ten thousand of the men being sent down on the boats, the rest marching by land through swamps and over bayous, which had been bridged by the engineer corps.

By April 27th, Grant's birthday, General McClernand's corps was at Hard Times, with McPherson's in supporting distance. Grand Gulf was on a high bluff, and so fortified as to be almost impregnable to a front attack. The place for its capture, as arranged by General Grant and Admiral Porter in unison, was for the latter to attack with his entire strength of eight gunboats, and silence the river batteries if possible, whereupon McClernand's corps, which was to be embarked on transports for the purpose, was to effect a landing and storm the defenses. At 8 A. M. on the 29th Porter attacked, but, after a furious bombardment of five and a half hours, withdrew, not having silenced a single gun. It was evident that the works were too strong to be carried by a direct attack.

That night Porter ran the batteries with his gunboats and transports. Grant, under cover of the darkness, marched his troops across the neck of land opposite Grand Gulf, and embarked them on

the transports, barges, and gunboats, which then moved down the river to effect a landing wherever a feasible one presented itself. A negro had told them of a safe landing place at Bruinsburg, some three miles below, whence a good road led to Port Gibson, twelve miles in the interior over the bluffs before described, which were here about two miles back from the river. The army landed there without opposition on the morning of April 30th.

It was one of the boldest strategic movements in the history of modern warfare. Grant had with him twenty thousand men. Vicksburg lay between him and his base of supplies. In his rear rolled the wide river. At Grand Gulf, Haines's Bluff, and Jackson, fifty miles east of Vicksburg, and connected with it by rail, the enemy had nearly sixty thousand men, all of whom could be massed against him by lines much shorter than his own. But his army was on the east bank of the river. The initial point in his grand scheme of conquest had been gained. For the rest he trusted to his own genius and the gallantry of his troops.

To keep the enemy's garrison at Haines's Bluff employed, General Sherman, who was still at Milliken's Bend, was directed to ascend the Yazoo to the bluff and attack it, which he did with excellent results, the enemy being so confused by the feint as to hold their forces in the earthworks instead of dispatching them against Grant below. The first move of the latter was to reduce Grand Gulf for use as a base of operations. The high land two miles to the eastward before mentioned was the first point to be gained in this movement. It had not yet

been occupied by the enemy from Grand Gulf, because the Bayou Pierre, a navigable stream, entered the Mississippi between them and Bruinsburg, and there was no bridge nearer than Port Gibson by which they could cross.

As soon as ammunition and two days' rations could be issued to McClernand's command, he advanced, seized the heights, and pushed on, hoping to reach Port Gibson and hold the bridge there over the Bayou Pierre before the enemy could come up. The latter met him, however, at Thompson's plantation, five miles west of Port Gibson. Had the place been laid out by an engineer corps, it could not have been more favorable for defense. It comprised a succession of wooded ridges parallel to each other, with deep ravines between the latter so choked with thickets of vines and canebrakes as to be almost impenetrable. Near Thompson's the road to Port Gibson forked, the two branches running parallel about a mile apart and uniting as they reached the town. Here the Confederate General Bowen, with his Grand Gulf garrison of some eight thousand men, had made a stand. The two roads rendered it necessary for McClernand to divide his force, Hovey's, Carr's, and A. J. Smith's divisions being sent by the right-hand road, and Osterhaus's by the left. The first-named divisions succeeded in holding their own under Bowen's attack, but Osterhaus was repulsed.

At about 10 A. M. General Grant himself came up and assumed command. He ordered McPherson, who was close in the rear with two brigades of Logan's division, to send one brigade to support

Osterhaus, and with the others to move to the left and flank the enemy's position. As soon as the supporting brigade arrived Osterhaus made a front attack, the enemy's right broke, followed soon by his left, and before sunset his whole army was in full retreat toward his fortifications at Grand Gulf. He did not even stop to contest the bridge crossing at Port Gibson—a fine strategic point—although he burned the bridge behind him, and next morning General Grant occupied Port Gibson without resistance.

Here the bold commander learned from Southern papers of the complete success of Colonel Grierson, who, with some seventeen hundred cavalry, had been sent to make a raid through central Mississippi with the double design of distracting the enemy's attention from Grant and of destroying his railroads. From Port Gibson the army moved northward and eastward with a view to capturing Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and thence by the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad invest the latter city from the east. Finding a hostile army in his rear and the gunboat fleet in his front, General Bowen now evacuated Grand Gulf, and retreated to effect a junction with Pemberton at Vicksburg. Grant entered the place May 3d, and from its walls communicated with Sherman and other subordinate commanders who were still above on the west bank, ordering every man that could be spared to join him at Grand Gulf. Here also he received a dispatch from General Banks, who was on the Red River marching north to invest Port Hudson, and which stated that he could not possibly reach the

latter place before May 10th, and then with but fifteen thousand men.

Until receipt of this letter Grant had intended to detach McClernand's corps and send it to co-operate with Banks for the reduction of Port Hudson. But the latter's delay and the smallness of his own force rendered this plan impracticable, and he relinquished it for the bolder and more masterly one, heretofore unknown in the art of war, of cutting loose from his base, moving into the enemy's country without supplies except those gathered by his foragers, and capturing Vicksburg by an attack from the rear. On the 7th Sherman arrived at Grand Gulf with his command, and the combined army moved upon the doomed city, skirmishing and fighting at many points, but never repulsed, and drawing ample and excellent supplies from the region traversed.

The wagon train carrying ammunition only, and impressed from the neighboring plantations, would have moved motley himself to laughter. In its ranks might have been seen an elegant carriage, drawn by mules in plow harness, with rope lines and straw collars, and packed to the top with boxes of cartridges thrown in promiscuously in the hurry of the advance; creaking carts, drawn by patient oxen, and long wagons fitted with racks for transporting cotton bales, now loaded to their utmost capacity with munitions of war. No camp equipage or personal baggage was carried in the first days of this memorable march. Even the commander in chief was for a week without a change of linen. Many of the general officers marched on foot. The

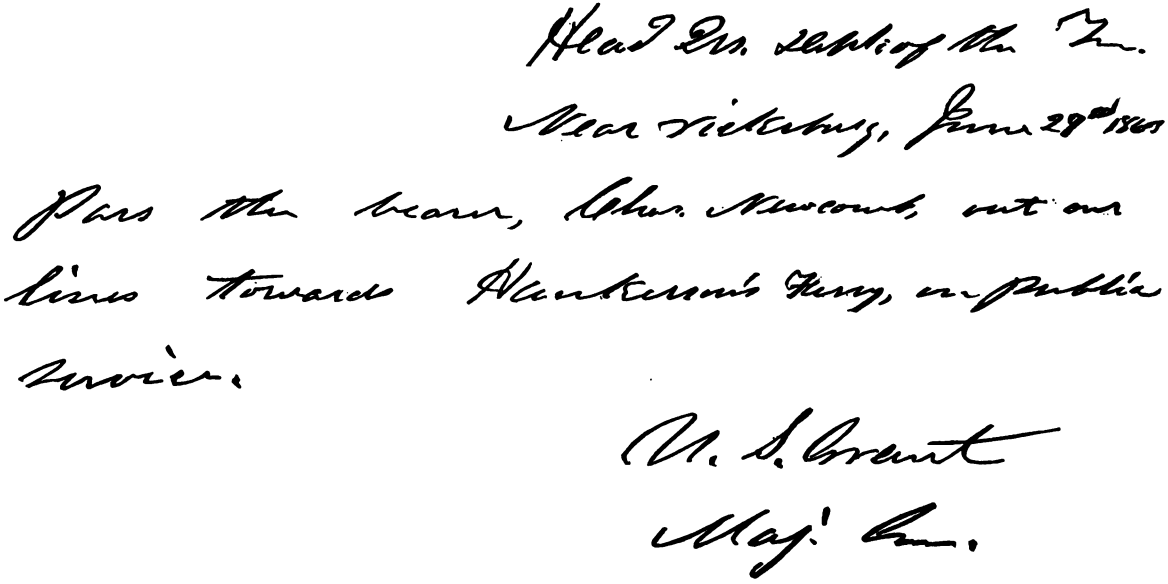
scenes along the way illustrated forcibly and sadly the horrors of war.

The opposing forces outnumbered the invading column nearly two to one, and to the cautious Halleck and even the impetuous Sherman the movement seemed a foolhardy one. But Grant had carefully estimated the risks, and believed he could conquer. General Pemberton's command was so scattered, he reasoned, that he could not attack with his whole army at any one time or place, and he (Grant) had so interposed his column between the former and the command of General Joseph E. Johnston (1809–'91), then concentrating at Jackson, that concerted action between the two was impossible. It was also a great advantage to Grant that, while he knew perfectly well where he was going, the Confederate generals lacked this knowledge, and must be on the alert to defend many threatened points over a wide extent of territory. Adopting the same tactics, and by making use of the same uncertainty of his foes as to his objective point, Sherman later made his famous march to the sea.

On May 14th, after a sharp action, Jackson was captured with seventeen guns and a number of prisoners, although Johnston succeeded in escaping with the main body of his army. By an intercepted dispatch Grant now learned that Johnston's design was to effect a junction with Pemberton, and so disposed his forces by a serious of ingenious manœuvres that this plan was prevented. Pemberton, marching east to effect this junction, was met at Champion Hill by the invading force, and a fiercely contested battle was fought, ending, how-

ever, in the utter rout of the Confederates, who lost three thousand men in killed and wounded, and the same number taken prisoners. Pemberton made another stand at the crossing of the Big Black River—a position strong in natural defenses—but which was quickly carried by Lawlor's brigade of Carr's division. Had not the bridges over the Big Black been destroyed, it is probable the Union forces would have outmarched Pemberton's and gained the intrenchments at Vicksburg before them. Certain it is that there was no more fighting of moment until the Union forces had completely invested the city, a corps on each of the three roads approaching the place from the north, east, and southeast.

This occurred on May 19th, twenty days after the first crossing at Bruinsburg. As the two generals, Grant and Sherman, from the line of circumvallation looked down on Walnut Hills, where the latter had been repulsed the December previous, Sherman remarked that this was the greatest campaign in history, and that his superior ought to make a report of it at once. In twenty days Grant had marched two hundred miles through an enemy's country, had beaten two armies in five battles, captured nearly one hundred cannon, and killed or made prisoners nearly twelve thousand of Johnston's and Pemberton's troops. An assault was ordered this same day, with the hope of carrying the works before the enemy could recover from the demoralization of Champion Hill and the Big Black, but it resulted only in securing better positions for the operations of the army. On the night of the


Head Qrs. Army of the Tenn.
Near Vicksburg, June 29th 1863
Pass the bearer, Chas. Newcomb, out our
lines towards Hankerson's Ferry, on public
service.
U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen.

Facsimile of a Vicksburg pass used by Charles Newcomb, one of Grant's most expert spies.

21st, for the first time in three weeks, the troops had full rations served to them.

On May 22d General Grant decided to order a second assault all along the line, influenced by three reasons: First, the army believed it could carry the works, and, if not allowed to try, would not have endured so patiently the severe toil of the trenches; second, Johnston was in his rear, less than fifty miles distant, with a force constantly being added to by accessions, and there was danger of his coming to the garrison's relief; third, the capture of the stronghold would permit the re-enforcements destined for his army to be sent elsewhere, where they were urgently needed. The assault was ordered for 10 A. M., and began with a furious cannonade from every gun in position. Under cover of this artillery fire each corps assaulted simultaneously, but, although the men behaved with the greatest gallantry, it was beyond human power to carry intrenchments so well planned and so ably defended, and after two trials the unsuccessful attempt was abandoned.

Forty-six days of siege followed, of weary waiting on the part of the besieged for the aid that never came, of rearing earthworks and intrenchments, mounting cannon, building roads, sapping and mining, watching a powerful enemy in both front and rear along a line fifteen miles in length on the part of the besiegers. On the 3d of July, when the approaches of the latter had reached to within from five to one hundred yards of the enemy's works in a dozen different places, when his men were on the point of revolt from starvation, and when all hope

of aid from Johnston had fled, General Pemberton sent a flag of truce, asking for an armistice to arrange terms of capitulation.

Grant replied declining the armistice, but reminding Pemberton that he could stop the useless effusion of blood, which in his letter he had expressed a desire to do, by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison, adding that brave men such as his had shown themselves to be would be treated with all the respect due to prisoners of war. A meeting was arranged for the two commanders on a hillside near the Confederate lines, under an ancient oak (to which the historical event proved fatal, since in a few days it was carried away by piecemeal for souvenirs). The two generals had served together in the Mexican War, and their greeting was that of old acquaintances rather than of enemies. No agreement was reached at this interview, but on parting the Union general promised to send his ultimatum that evening after a consultation with his corps and division commanders.

In this letter Grant, against the advice of his lieutenants, agreed to parole the entire force, allowing the officers to retain their side arms and clothing, and the field, staff, and cavalry officers one horse each; the rank and file their clothing only, with as many rations from the stores surrendered as they needed for their journey to their homes. Thirty wagons for transporting the latter were also allowed. These terms were accepted, with the stipulation that the captured troops should be allowed to march out by brigades with their colors and stack arms in front of their lines. Grant was led to give

these favorable terms by the belief that nine tenths of the prisoners were weary of the war, and on being paroled would return to their homes and remain there.

Vicksburg, which had been a handsome city, with good public buildings and many fine residences, surrounded with well-kept and beautiful gardens, had when the troops entered a neglected and war-worn appearance. Some degree of devastation marked almost every visible object, and in the exceptional cases one met with dust, decay, and neglect. Many houses were pierced by shot and shell. The pillars of piazzas were knocked down, and doors and windows smashed. The shops were all closed, and presented a shabby and deserted appearance, and in many of the streets one had to be on the *qui vive* to avoid falling into holes made by shells. The streets near to and running parallel with the river were barricaded by breastworks and rifle pits as a means of defense against attacks by the Union gunboats.

At every available place caves were dug. In these caves, which varied greatly in size, the women and children sought shelter from shot and shell. The largest one in the city was that of Mr. T., being cut through a hill about a hundred feet in length. In this cave, through which a person could walk erect, were four apartments, the largest one being perhaps sixteen feet square, and furnished with a carpet, table, chairs, etc. Here his family, including several daughters, lived during the forty-six days that the siege continued. In another smaller room the servants were quartered. In the third

was stored their food and forage for the cow and hogs, quietly sojourning out of the way of all danger in the next apartment. During the day many ladies issued from caves, taking their chances by successful dodges. We met two Vicksburg sisters who prided themselves upon their expertness in getting out of the way of Yankee shells, as if it were quite a ladylike accomplishment.

When the news of the surrender of Vicksburg, with thirty thousand prisoners and nearly two hundred guns, reached Washington, Grant was immediately made a major general in the regular army, a position which in the second year of the war he looked forward to as the height of earthly ambition. The general in chief in his annual report, in alluding to the campaign, thus speaks of Grant: "When we consider the character of the country in which the army operated, the formidable obstacles to be overcome, the number of forces, and the strength of the enemy's works, we can not fail to admire the courage and endurance of the troops and the skill and daring of their commander. No more brilliant exploit can be found in military history." It was this great victory that drew forth from the President that gem of a letter,* which deserves to be

* EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1863.

Major-General GRANT:

MY DEAR GENERAL—I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below—and I never had any faith, except

printed in letters of gold, in which he makes the acknowledgment to Grant, "*You were right and I was wrong.*" The national gain was the least of the fruits of the success, for as the capture of Fort Donelson expelled the Confederate forces from Kentucky and the greater part of Tennessee, so the capture of Vicksburg reopened the great Father of Waters to trade and navigation, and drove the enemy from a good portion of the State of Mississippi. The important results accomplished by the successful campaign and siege are thus briefly stated in Grant's official report:

The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg, the occupation of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of thirty-seven thousand prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least ten thousand killed and wounded, and among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green; and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of stragglers, who can never be collected and reorganized; arms and munitions of war for an army of sixty thousand men have fallen into our hands, beside a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, etc., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it.

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a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. A. LINCOLN.

An officer of the army received a note from General Grant, written on the day he entered Vicksburg, stating that before the 10th of that month Port Hudson would surrender to the forces of General Banks. With what wonderful accuracy he calculated results is shown by the fall of the other stronghold within the time. The surrender of Port Hudson was the natural sequence to the fall of Vicksburg. Grant adroitly managed to have a dispatch, which he sent to Banks, saying that he would join him on a certain day, intercepted, and this reaching General Gardner, the commander at Port Hudson, the place was immediately surrendered. The mighty struggle for the control of the great river of the West was finished, and the Mississippi flowed unvexed to the sea.

Just before General Grant initiated his splendid campaign against Vicksburg, and after all the preparations had been made for sweeping loose from the base of supplies on the Mississippi River to make the circuitous inland march *via* Jackson to the rear of Vicksburg, he was called upon by Sherman, and addressed as follows: "General Grant, I feel it to be my duty to say that, as a subordinate officer, I am bound to give you my hearty co-operation in this movement, but, having no faith in it, I feel it due to my military reputation to protest against it in writing, and hope that my protest will be forwarded by you to Washington." "Very well, Sherman," quietly replied the commanding general, "send along your protest; I'll take care of it."

The next day Grant received Sherman's document, and the movement was then initiated which

culminated in the surrender of Vicksburg and its immense garrison—the largest capture of men and materials ever made in war; at Ulm Napoleon received thirty thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, a number, says Alison, "unparalleled in modern warfare." Prior, however, to Pemberton's capitulation, but after it was morally certain that the rebel stronghold must fall, General Sherman rode up to Grant's headquarters one day, and found his chief stretched on the ground beneath his "fly," endeavoring to keep as cool as possible in the sultry midsummer weather. They were chatting pleasantly on the prospects of the quickly approaching success when General Grant's adjutant general came up and asked for a certain official paper which he had in his possession. Taking a handful of documents from his breast pocket, a receptacle which was always plethoric with papers, he selected the one that had been called for, and, before putting the rest away, drew forth a second paper from the pile. Then turning to Sherman with a smile and a merry twinkle in his eye, he said, "By the by, general, here is something that will interest you." Sherman took it and saw the "protest" which two months before he had handed to General Grant to be forwarded to Washington through the proper channel. An expression of astonishment and gratification diffused itself over Sherman's bronzed features, which quickly changed to one of supreme satisfaction when Grant took the document from his hand and, tearing it into small fragments, scattered them to the winds. No further allusion to the subject was made by these illustrious soldiers.

History has pronounced Napoleon's first campaign in Italy as one of the few without a single mistake or even an obvious piece of ill fortune. May not the same statement be made in speaking of Grant's masterpiece? The capture of Vicksburg, combined with the glorious victory at Gettysburg, which added new luster to the day of the nation's birth, was a deathblow to all reasonable hope of a Southern Confederacy. The glories of the simultaneous victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg may not exceed or even equal those of Marathon and Thermopylæ, but they will rival those proud victories of ancient days in the remembrance of the American people of the North.

CHAPTER IX.

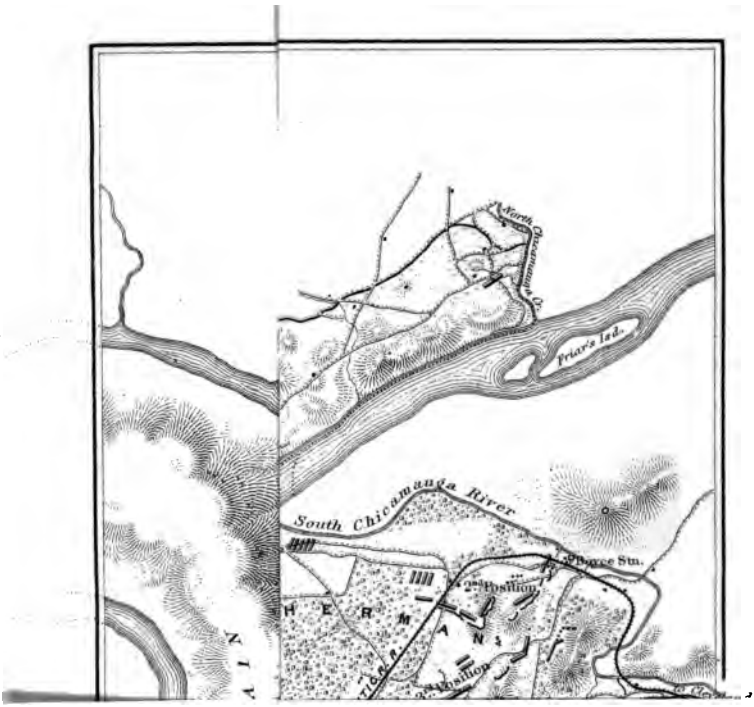
THE CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN.

THE hero of Vicksburg had at last found his vocation. Other and larger fields for the display of his marvelous military powers of combination and execution were awaiting him. A doubtful and disastrous battle was in a few months to call him again to active service, and to a greatly enlarged command. During the interval—in September—he visited General Banks, commander of the Department of the Gulf, at New Orleans to consult with him as to their future plans. While there a grand review was held at Carrollton, a few miles above the city, of Franklin's Nineteenth and Ord's Thirteenth Army Corps, the latter having been sent early in August from Vicksburg to New Orleans. "As good troops," wrote Grant to General Banks, "as ever trod American soil, no better are found on any other." The review took place September 4th, in the presence of Generals Grant, Banks, Washburn, Herron, Stone, Thomas, and other minor officers. It was a stirring yet pathetic sight as Grant, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of generals and staff officers, dashed along the lines

to his position under a massive live oak, while the colors torn by the shot and shell of Belmont, Donelson, Shiloh, Port Gibson, Jackson, Champion Hill, Big Black, and Vicksburg dipped to him, and the vigorous cheers of the well-seasoned veterans filled the plain with echoes.

Returning from the review, his spirited steed took fright at an approaching train on the New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad, suddenly swerved, and threw Grant heavily to the ground.* With the aid of some passers-by, we bore him into a roadside inn, where he soon recovered consciousness, but received injuries from which he was not wholly cured for several months. Indeed, before he could walk without the aid of crutches he was ordered to proceed to Cairo and await instructions. Arriving there early in October, he was directed to proceed to the Galt House, at Louisville, Ky., where he would meet an officer of the War Department with instructions. The dispatch closed with the significant order to go "prepared for immediate operations in the field." This was on October 17th, and Grant at once set out for Louisville by rail *via* Indianapolis. At the latter place he was joined by the Secretary of War, who brought with him an order investing him with the consolidated Departments of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Tennessee, including all the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, excepting that portion

* This magnificent blood bay, nearly seventeen hands, was loaned to Grant by General Banks, who bought him in Virginia. Charlie, as he was called, enjoys the unique distinction of being the only horse that ever unseated the illustrious soldier.


North Chicamauga Cr.
Friar's Isd.
South Chicamauga River
Boyce Stn.
2nd Position
H E R M A N
2nd Position

commanded by General Banks, to be known as the Military Division of the Mississippi. Mr. Stanton also brought two other orders, one retaining Rosecrans in his previous command of the Army and Department of the Cumberland, the other relieving him and substituting General George H. Thomas. Grant was offered his choice, and at once made it in favor of a change, his previous experience with General Rosecrans not being satisfactory. He was immediately relieved, and Thomas assigned to the vacant position.

The day following he left Louisville for Chattanooga, after forwarding the following dispatch to General Thomas: "Hold Chattanooga at all hazards. I will be there as soon as possible." To which the stout old soldier replied at once, "I will hold the town till we starve!" From Bridgeport Grant proceeded on horseback over roads almost impassable by reason of the rain, which rolled in torrents down the mountain sides. Frequently the whole party had to dismount and lead their horses over unsafe places or spots where it was impossible to cross on horseback, Grant, who was still suffering and lame, being carried in the arms of soldiers. He found affairs at the front in a serious condition. Indeed, they could not have been worse, Rosecrans having fought the battle of Chickamauga a month before—September 19th and 20th.

The army was now in Chattanooga with Bragg in command of a superior force occupying the heights of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge above him, and threatening to shell the city. He also by this position held the only gap leading

south through the Alleghanies, Chattanooga being at its northern entrance and Atlanta at its southern. The national troops held Chattanooga, and were strongly intrenched in the Tennessee Valley on the foothills fronting Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, with the river protecting their rear. The army was without proper food, clothes, or equipment. Its base of supplies was at Nashville, a hundred miles distant, and connected with Chattanooga by a single line of rail, which was not wholly in possession of the Union forces, that part of it skirting the Tennessee River from Bridgeport to Chattanooga, about twenty miles in extent, being held by Bragg. This necessitated a circuitous transportation of all supplies by wagons over the mountains in the rear of the Union troops, a distance of nearly sixty miles, and, as the surrounding country had been swept of all food products, the army was in an embarrassing position from lack of absolutely necessary supplies.

A great general must possess executive ability, as well as the power to conceive plans and combinations. The furnishing of supplies to an army is as essential in a campaign as the fighting of battles. Grant's genius lay in the possession, to a marked degree, of both qualities. Before ordering up reenforcements or projecting a plan of campaign, he determined to regain possession of the river, the railway, and the valley roads. The next day after his arrival—October 24th—he issued orders for opening the railroad and river to Bridgeport, then held, as we have seen, by Bragg. Portions of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps of the Army of the

Potomac, under Generals Hooker and Slocum, with Hooker in command, had some time before been sent west to re-enforce General Rosecrans, and were now at Bridgeport.

These troops were ordered to co-operate with the Army of the Cumberland in the movement. To intelligently describe it we must speak more in detail of the position of the two armies. The Tennessee flowing from Chattanooga to Bridgeport makes a deep bend to the north. The railroad from Bridgeport to Chattanooga crosses the neck of this bend several miles from the south bank of the Tennessee, with the Raccoon Mountains interposed between it and the river. Whitesides is a small station on the railway about midway between the two points, and Wauhatchie is another hamlet at the mouth of Lookout Valley, about three miles below Chattanooga. Next as the traveler approaches Chattanooga is Lookout Mountain, dividing Lookout Valley on the west from Chattanooga Valley on the east, the later walled on the extreme east by the rocky heights of Missionary Ridge.

Each valley is traversed by a creek of the same name flowing north to the Tennessee. Lookout Mountain on the north or Chattanooga side rises boldly, almost precipitately, twenty-two hundred feet above tide water, but has a more gentle slope on the south. The Confederate line, beginning at Missionary Ridge, Bragg's extreme right, stretched across Chattanooga Valley over Lookout Mountain, across Lookout Valley, and over the Raccoon Mountains to the Tennessee, a distance of about fifteen miles. In the rear of the Raccoon Mountains

was a wagon road along each bank of the river as far as Kelly's Ferry, where that on the northern shore coming from Jasper crossed to the south side, and both leaving the river passed through Cumming's Gap in the Raccoon Mountains to the main road leading north out of Lookout Valley, and thence followed that road to Brown's Ferry, about three miles below Chattanooga.

General Hooker, at Bridgeport, was now ordered to cross to the south side of the Tennessee and march up the railroad by Whitesides to Brown's Ferry, while General Palmer, with a division of the Fourteenth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland, was to move from Chattanooga *down* the river on the north bank by an obscure road until opposite Whitesides, when he was to cross and move on to and hold the road in Hooker's rear. To General W. F. Smith was given command of the troops designed to secure the passage of the Tennessee at Brown's Ferry. Smith, as chief engineer of the Army of the Cumberland, had previously built two steamboats and provided material for bridges. He was now given four thousand men, eighteen hundred of whom, under General Hazen, were detailed with sixty pontoon boats to float down the river under cover of night to Brown's Ferry, there land on the south bank, and capture or rout the enemy's pickets stationed there. At an earlier hour Smith himself was to march down the north bank with the remainder of his force and the bridge materials and be ready to throw a bridge across as soon as Hazen should gain the south bank.

The plan worked admirably. At 3 A. M. on the

morning of the 27th Hazen floated past the enemy's outpost at the north base of Lookout, and at five o'clock surprised the picket guard at Brown's Ferry, and captured all except a few who found safety in flight. Promptly on the hour Smith appeared, was ferried over, and by seven o'clock had gained possession of a height on the south shore commanding the ferry, which he quickly fortified. By ten o'clock a pontoon bridge had been laid, and the Union right was across the river and intrenched in Lookout Valley. General Hooker, who had begun his march from Bridgeport on the 26th, met with little opposition *en route*, and, entering Lookout Valley at Wauhatchie, joined the forces already in possession.

Dispositions were now made to hold the valley. Howard, with the Eleventh Corps, took post at Brown's Ferry to command the river. Geary, with a division of the Twelfth, remained in Lookout Valley, near Wauhatchie. The enemy's outposts on the Raccoon Mountains being cut off, soon surrendered, and the river was open from Brown's Ferry to Bridgeport. Steamers, however, could only come up to Kelly's Ferry, because of the swift current in the narrows between that point and Brown's Ferry, but from Kelly's a good and level road led through the gap in the Raccoon Mountains, before described, to Brown's Ferry, thence across the river and up the north bank to a point opposite Chattanooga, where a temporary bridge gave access to the city. It was but eight miles from Kelly's Ferry to Chattanooga by this route. Until the railroad could be rebuilt Grant's supplies now

came by steamer from Bridgeport up the Tennessee to Kelly's Ferry, and thence by wagon to Chattanooga, a route that proved capable of meeting all the demands made upon it. The enemy made one desperate effort to sever the line by an assault on General Geary's force, but was beaten back with heavy loss.

Being now able to supply his army, Grant began concentrating his scattered command and making dispositions for forcing Bragg from his position. Surveying the field, he found that General Burnside with twenty-five thousand men was at Knoxville, in East Tennessee, in a desperate condition, being one hundred miles from any base of supplies, while the surrounding country had been ravaged of everything that could support life. He was not yet closely besieged, although in daily danger of it. The only method of relieving him was to force General Bragg from Lookout and Missionary Ridge and regain control of the upper Tennessee. His subsequent combinations were made with this end in view.

Sherman, the commander on whom Grant always relied, had been ordered to march from Memphis to the assistance of his chief, and with his army was now, November 1st, at Florence, Ala., about a hundred miles down the Tennessee. Since we left him at Vicksburg he had been promoted to be commander of the Army of the Tennessee, with headquarters in the field. When this force arrived there would be an additional army to be provided for. It was also expected that General Burnside would yet have to be supplied from Chattanooga.

To do this there was only the single line of rail from Nashville. The general decided to build another railroad. Sherman had repaired the line from Memphis to Eastport as he marched, and had brought up his supplies upon it. It was constantly being raided by the enemy, however, and the repairs retarded his march. At Eastport he found an abundance of supplies, which had been brought up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers on steamers from St. Louis by Grant's forethought. With these in his wagons, Grant now ordered Sherman to move on to Stevenson, near Bridgeport, without maintaining the communications in his rear.

At Stevenson the Memphis and Charleston Road, which Sherman had followed, unites with the Nashville and Chattanooga. From Decatur, on the former road, a branch had formerly led up to Nashville, but had been almost entirely destroyed by the enemy. By rebuilding this line and the Memphis and Charleston from Decatur to Stevenson, Grant would have two lines of transportation as far as the latter point. The distance to be covered was one hundred and two miles, and the country between was broken with deep ravines and wide river valleys, necessitating one hundred and eighty-two bridges. All these had been destroyed even to the culverts. The rails had been heated and twisted, every vestige of rolling stock destroyed or removed.

General Granville M. Dodge, of Sherman's army, was skilled in bridge building as well as a good soldier. He was now detailed by Grant's order, with his command of eight thousand men, to repair and hold the road from Decatur to Nash-

ville. Dodge had no tools except the axes, picks, and spades carried for intrenching. Often the timber for the work had to be felled and hewn in the neighboring forests. Masters of all the trades needed he found in his ranks, and in forty days the road was completed. Locomotives and rolling stock had been collected from Vicksburg and the North, and the new line was immediately put into active operation.

Meantime a second most important battle had been fought and won. On the 4th of November, before Sherman could come up, General Longstreet with twenty thousand men was detached by Bragg to attack Burnside at Knoxville. On the 7th Grant, in obedience to earnest appeals from the President "to do something for Burnside," ordered Thomas peremptorily to attack Bragg; but the latter declared it to be an impossibility—he had not horses enough to move even a single piece of artillery. At the same time Burnside was ordered to concentrate his forces and hold out to the last, as relief was near at hand. On the 14th Grant telegraphed him that Sherman's advance had reached Bridgeport, that he would be able to move thence with his whole force by the Tuesday following, and that if he could hold Longstreet in check until that date, or avoid loss by skirmishing and retreating, thus gaining time, he would drive Bragg back and throw an army between him and Longstreet that would force the latter to retreat to the mountain passes.

Later in the day he sent Burnside his plan of battle for carrying all the enemy's positions. Sherman's force as soon as it arrived was to be thrown

across the Tennessee at and below the mouth of Chickamauga Creek and attack from that quarter. Thomas, who held the Federal center, would attack on Sherman's left at the same time, and together they expected to carry Missionary Ridge, and then push out a force and capture the railroad to Knoxville between Cleveland and Dalton. Hooker, at the same time, would march over the northern plateau of Lookout Mountain and gain Bragg's rear if possible. The 19th would be the earliest day that this combination could be effected, and if Burnside could not sustain himself until that time he was ordered to advise his superior officer at once. When later Burnside was besieged by Longstreet, Grant sent him this characteristic communication: "I can hardly conceive the necessity for retreating. If I did so at all, it would be after losing most of the army." But heavy rains and floods during the 20th and 21st retarded Sherman's march, and threatened to sweep away the frail bridges on which so much depended. His troops were not up by the evening of the 22d. Meantime, on the 20th, news came that the attack on Burnside had begun, and again the most earnest messages were sent by Lincoln from Washington to the commander at Chattanooga imploring him to relieve Burnside at all hazards.

Grant's suspense was also great, but more endurable, because, as he remarks in his Memoirs, "he was in a position where he could soon do something to relieve the situation." Burnside was least anxious of all, being confident of his ability to maintain his position. On the 20th Grant received a

message from Bragg stating that, as there might be some noncombatants still in Chattanooga, he thought it proper to notify him that prudence would dictate their early removal. Grant at once divined that this indicated some new movement on the part of his adversary, but did not discover what it was until the 22d, when a deserter came in and reported that Buckner's division had been sent that day to re-enforce Longstreet at Knoxville.

Hearing nothing from Burnside, Grant now determined to attack next day, the 23d, with the Army of the Cumberland alone, not waiting for Sherman. In one respect the original plan of battle was modified. Hooker, it was feared, might not be able to cross over Lookout Mountain in time to threaten Bragg's rear. He was therefore ordered to move at Brown's Ferry to the north bank, march up opposite Chattanooga, and then cross to the south bank within the Union line of battle. This line had been heavily fortified during the siege. On this battle morning it was advanced a mile back from the river, and stretched from Citico Creek, at the base of Missionary Ridge on the left, to Chattanooga Creek, near the base of Lookout on the right. The many heights along the line were strongly intrenched and manned with guns of the heaviest caliber. Fort Wood, to the east of Chattanooga, mounting twenty-two guns, was nearest the Confederate position, and commanded its most advanced positions.

Under protection of its guns Thomas, commanding the center, now formed in line Gorden Granger's corps of two divisions, commanded by

Philip H. Sheridan and Thomas J. Wood respectively, the former on the right, the latter on the left, his line reaching to Citico Creek. The Fourteenth Corps, under Palmer, held that part of the line facing south and southwest, with Baird's division supporting Sheridan, while Johnson's was held in the trenches under arms as a reserve. Howard's corps was drawn up in the rear of the center. At this point the opposing lines were but a few hundred yards apart. By 2 P. M. all was ready. The signal to advance—the booming of cannon along the line—was given, and, after a short but sharp conflict, the detached heights between Missionary Ridge and the Union lines were carried, the lines by this manœuver being advanced fully a mile nearer Bragg's main position.

These heights, already fortified, were greatly strengthened during the following night, and played an important part in the next day's battle. The Union loss was eleven hundred killed and wounded, and the Confederate about the same. Meantime throughout the day of battle Sherman's Vicksburg veterans had been quietly falling into position, and by nightfall were ready to move, all except Osterhaus's command, which had not been able to cross at Brown's Ferry, the flood in the Tennessee having swept away the bridge at that point. Osterhaus's command was therefore joined to Hooker's, which for the same reason had remained in Lookout Valley, and the combined force under Hooker was ordered to move to the attack next morning over Lookout Mountain as originally planned.

Sherman's army had succeeded in reaching its

camp on the north bank of the Tennessee, nearly opposite the mouth of the Chickamauga, without being perceived by the enemy, the troops having marched by blind roads back of the mountains, north of the river, with this end in view. It was on the extreme Union left, nearly opposite Missionary Ridge, the strongest position of the enemy. Between it and the latter, however, flowed the Tennessee. To cross this one hundred and sixteen pontoon boats, each capable of carrying thirty men, had been floated secretly down to the mouth of the North Chickamauga, some distance above Sherman's position, while bridge materials had been concealed near the point of his proposed crossing. During the night Giles A. Smith's brigade, marched to these boats, embarked and floated down the Tennessee to the proposed point, landed on the south bank, at the mouth of the South Chickamauga River, and surprised and captured the Confederate picket post there.

With the pontoons and the aid of a steamer sent from Chattanooga, the task of ferrying over Sherman's command was begun, the men as soon as they landed securing their position by throwing up intrenchments. Both divisions were over and intrenched by daylight. A bridge upon which the cavalry and artillery could cross was then pushed forward with such rapidity that it was finished shortly after noon, as well as one over the South Chickamauga, the enemy meantime looking on amazed at this appearance of an army on his extreme right—an army which he had supposed to be bivouacked by the town on his extreme left.

The cavalry and artillery were soon massed on the south shore, abundance of horses to move the latter having been brought by the army from the West.

At 1 P. M. Sherman gave the order to advance on Missionary Ridge. With a hundred guns playing upon them, and with as many more answering from the Federal heights, his command gained the foot of the first advanced spur of Missionary Ridge, climbed it through storms of shot and shell, beat back the bayonets that wreathed its top, clambered over the hot muzzles of the guns upon its summit, and at half-past three planted their banners there, a step nearer the superior heights frowning above. Two brigades were at once ordered to this advanced position to hold it, artillery was brought up and mounted, and soon the captured height was made impregnable to any Confederate force likely to be thrown against it.

Clouds hung upon the summits of Lookout and Missionary Ridge during this first day, and Bragg probably did not discern this movement until its object was attained. Then he made two determined attempts to recapture it, but failed, and as night fell Sherman held the position gained with one foot already in the enemy's camp. There was little or no fighting in the center this first day, but on the extreme Federal right Hooker had been engaged from sunrise. He had been left, it will be remembered, in Lookout Valley, with Lookout Mountain between him and Chattanooga Valley, where Sherman was fighting with three divisions, all of different commands—Geary's, of the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac, Osterhaus's, of the

Fifteenth Corps, Army of the Tennessee, and Cruft's Fourteenth Corps, Army of the Cumberland. The face of Lookout Mountain confronting him was rugged, precipitous, wooded, and full of chasms, which the tourist of to-day finds it difficult to climb, and which would seem insurmountable to soldiers encumbered with arms and in face of a foe.

The summit that day was held by three brigades of Bragg's force under General Stevenson, who had trained their guns and were looking for their foe on the eastern slope, which is much more gradual in ascent, and up which the road from Chattanooga winds to the summit. They had not regarded it as within the range of possibility that men would attempt to climb the northern or western face. Geary took the initiative by moving his division, supported by a brigade of Cruft's, up Lookout Creek to effect a crossing, Hooker's entire force having been encamped on the western bank of that stream. The rest of Cruft's division was ordered to cross by a bridge over the creek near the former railroad bridge. Osterhaus also was to cross by the same means. This latter movement, shrouded in the heavy morning mist, so engaged the enemy's attention that Geary was able to cross farther up and begin ascending the mountain before him without having been perceived. Osterhaus and Cruft also forced the bridge, scattering the guard placed there to hold it, and began to ascend the mountain in their immediate front.

Soon the sound of Geary's muskets above in the mist gave notice that he had aroused the enemy. Then the sides and summits blazed with musketry

and artillery, and grape, canister, and minie balls tore through the ascending line or whistled harmlessly overhead. Taking cover behind trees, stumps, and rocky walls, zigzagging, one man hoisting another upon his shoulders to scale the precipices, firing by the flash of the enemy's guns, Geary's men fought their way up until the Confederates, seeing their left menaced, gave way all along the line. This brought Cruft and Osterhaus abreast of Geary, and the whole line swept up the mountain, driving the enemy before it, and gaining before noon the open ground on the north face, with its right at the base of the last precipice before reaching the summit, the latter, however, being strongly fortified.

The Union line of battle was now extended on the right from the mouth of Chattanooga Creek up Lookout Mountain, Geary's right, under the precipice, becoming the extreme right, and the army which had been before separated by Lookout Mountain was united. Grant and Thomas stood upon Orchard Knob in the center while these widely separated movements were being carried out, unable to see anything of Hooker, who literally fought above the clouds, but accurately gauging his position from the sounds of battle. The latter carried the breastworks on Lookout Mountain before him, but was not able to move his lines down into Chattanooga Valley before nightfall, and bivouacked on the mountain.

At this time everything seemed favorable for a Federal victory on the morrow. Sherman held his advanced position on the extreme left, and had sent

his cavalry to destroy the railroad to Knoxville, and thus cut off Longstreet from his base. Thomas with the center held the advanced line gained the day before, and Hooker was in position to move down next morning, cross Chattanooga Valley and Creek, and strike the rear of the Confederate position on Missionary Ridge as planned. Grant telegraphed the result to President Lincoln that night, and next day received the reply, "Well done; many thanks to all. Remember Burnside." It was a busy night for the commanding general. First, he sent a dispatch to General Wilcox, in Tennessee, bidding him send a courier with the news to Burnside. To Sherman he gave the order to attack with vigor at daylight; Hooker was directed to move at the same hour, get on the line of the enemy's retreat if he still held his position; if he had retired, then to move to Rossville, on the old battlefield of Chickamauga, and attack Bragg on Missionary Ridge from the rear. The center was to remain quiet until Hooker should attack at Rossville.

Morning dawned fair and clear. The stern battlements above the valley stood out grim and terrible, and the forts on Lookout, Bragg's headquarters on Missionary Ridge, and Sherman's on the detached spur confronting him were all visible from Orchard Knob, where at an early hour Grant and Thomas took their stations. The hill where Sherman lay ready to strike was the principal object of interest. That general had before him a formidable task. A deep depression occupied by a carriage road and a railway cut and tunnel intervened between him and the rocky heights to be carried.

These latter were bristling with cannon and bayonets, and were swept by guns from the earthworks on higher ground still farther in the rear. As the sun rose Grant saw that Sherman's command was moving. Three brigades were left to guard the hill. Morgan L. Smith advanced along the eastern base of Missionary Ridge. Loomis, supported by two brigades of John E. Smith's division, took the west base. Corse with his brigade charged in the center. Morgan L. Smith seized and held the railroad bridge, Bragg's only line of communication with his supply depot at Chickamauga Station. The latter, thus threatened, began rapidly to mass his troops against Sherman.

From his position Grant saw column after column detached and moved against the latter. Every Confederate gun that could obtain the range was turned upon him, and then began that great artillery duel which rendered the battle of Chattanooga second only to Gettysburg in impressiveness, for the Union batteries replied until the valley and mountains, shrouded in sulphurous smoke, lighted by flashes, and smitten by thunder, shook as in the throes of an earthquake. In the face of it John E. Smith's two brigades dashed up the open western slope to the support of Corse, succeeded in gaining the opposing ramparts, and held them for a time until the enemy charged with a superior force and drove them back as far as a piece of wood. Taking advantage of this, Smith halted, reformed, turned upon the attacking troops, and swept them back to their intrenchments. Grant, seeing this gallant action, ordered a division to Smith's support, and

Baird's division of General Thomas's command was detached from the center at Orchard Knob and sent to his relief.

This charge of Baird's was one of the incidents of the battle. He had nearly two miles to march to reach the hill, through the open plain under Bragg's eye and that of the Confederate gunners, and the former massed whole columns at the threatened point to meet him. Meantime Sheridan's and Wood's divisions of Granger's corps in the center were impatiently waiting the order to assault the ridge in their front, having been held in leash all day waiting till Hooker, who had gained and left Lookout Mountain that morning, should strike Bragg's rear at Rossville. Loss of the bridge over Chattanooga Creek detained Hooker four hours, but now, seeing Sherman hard pressed, Grant waited for Hooker no longer, but gave the order for Wood and Sheridan to attack. There was some delay owing to the nontransmission of the order, but at last both divisions were off. Theirs with Baird's were the culminating charges of the day. On the ridge before them rose three lines of strong works—one on the crest, one halfway down the hill, and at its base a third.

It was a gallant charge, the Confederate artillery playing upon the advancing lines, opening great gaps in them, the Federal guns filling the air above their heads with shot and shell, and raining them on every square yard of the opposing redoubts, riddling Bragg's headquarters, killing the horses of a battery at his feet; under cover of it the column sweeping steadily on over the rolling ground up to the

first line of rifle pits, driving the defenders out at the point of the bayonet, and lying there panting while it regained breath. And then Sheridan and Wood and Turchin rallied their men for the charge, and, following their colors into the face of thirteen batteries of heavy guns and of eight thousand infantry, the line swept up the craggy hillside and carried the crowning redoubts at the summit.

This practically ended the battle, for the enemy in front of Sherman, seeing their left carried and themselves outflanked by Sheridan's impetuous charge, soon gave way also. Sheridan pursued with vigor until the Chickamauga was reached, capturing in the pursuit a second position, with many prisoners, guns, and artillery trains. Sherman, on hearing of the enemy's flight, detailed his reserves—Davis's division—to cross the Chickamauga by the pontoon bridge at its mouth and march against Chickamauga Station. Hooker, meanwhile, had come upon the flank of one of Bragg's divisions at Rossville, and had put it to flight, capturing prisoners and guns. Thus over the whole extended line the enemy was in broken and disorganized retreat. Grant at once telegraphed the news to Burnside, and dispatched troops and stores to his relief. The latter, however, had taken good care of himself, having contrived by several clever expedients not only to beat off the enemy, but to supply his commissary wagons as well. Grant had fairly won his fourth great victory

Colonel McKinstry, of General Bragg's staff, said that he considered the Confederate position perfectly impregnable, and that when he saw

our troops, after capturing the rifle pits, coming up the craggy mountain side, bristling with bayonets and hundreds of cannon, he could scarcely credit his eyes, and thought every man of them *must be drunk*. History has no parallel for sublimity and picturesqueness of effect, while the consequences—the division of the Confederacy—were inestimable. Grant announced his success in the following short and modest dispatch to Halleck at Washington: "Although the battle lasted from early dawn until dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg. Lookout Mountain-top and all the rifle pits in Chattanooga Valley and Missionary Ridge entire have been carried, and are now held by us." The quartermaster general of the United States army, who was on the ground with Grant during the brilliant campaign, wrote as follows to the Secretary of War:

Bragg's remaining troops left early in the night, and the battle of Chattanooga, after days of manœuvering and fighting, was won. The strength of the rebellion in the center is broken. Burnside is relieved from danger in East Tennessee. Kentucky and Tennessee are rescued. Georgia and the Southeast are threatened in the rear, and another victory is added to the chapter of "Unconditional Surrender Grant." To-night the estimate of captures is several thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of artillery. Our loss for so great a victory is not severe. Bragg is firing the railroad as he retreats toward Dalton. Sherman is in hot pursuit. To-day I viewed the battlefield, which extends for six miles along Missionary Ridge and for several miles on Lookout Mountain. Probably not so well-directed,

so well-ordered a battle has taken place during the war. But one assault was repulsed; but that assault, by calling to that point the rebel reserves, prevented them repulsing any of the others. A few days since Bragg sent to General Grant a flag of truce, advising him that it would be prudent to remove any noncombatants who might be still in Chattanooga. No reply has been returned; but the combatants having removed from the vicinity, it is probable that noncombatants can remain without imprudence.

President Lincoln personally acknowledged General Grant's irresistible determination and skill by sending him the following telegram: "Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks—my profoundest gratitude—for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all."

We must again refer to the report of the general in chief, in which, alluding to the campaign in the Chattanooga Mountains and Valley, he says: "Considering the strength of the rebel position, and the difficulty of storming his intrenchments, the battle of Chattanooga *must be considered the most remarkable in history.* Not only did the officers and men exhibit great skill and daring in their operations on the field, but the highest praise is due to the commanding general for his admirable dispositions for dislodging the enemy from a position apparently impregnable."

On December 10th General Grant issued the

following congratulatory order to the armies under his command—a self-possessed and noble tribute from an unassuming, magnanimous heart, which recalls some of the orders of the Duke of Wellington, whom Grant in so many particulars strongly resembled:

The general commanding takes this opportunity of returning his sincere thanks and congratulations to the brave Armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and their comrades from the Potomac for the recent splendid and decisive successes achieved over the enemy. In a short time you have recovered from him the control of the Tennessee River from Bridgeport to Knoxville. You dislodged him from his great stronghold upon Lookout Mountain, drove him from Chattanooga Valley, wrested from his determined grasp the possession of Missionary Ridge, repelled with heavy loss to him his repeated assaults upon Knoxville, forcing him to raise the siege there, driving him at all points, utterly routed and discomfited, beyond the limits of the State. By your noble heroism and determined courage you have most effectually defeated the plans of the enemy for regaining possession of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this the general commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will yet go to other fields of strife, and, with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the

past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defenses, however formidable, can check your onward march.

On the 17th of the same month Congress unanimously voted a resolution of thanks to Grant and the officers and soldiers who had fought under his command during the rebellion, and a gold medal was struck, which it was provided the President should present to General Grant "in the name of the people of the United States of America." It was designed by Leutze. On one face of the medal is a profile likeness of the hero, surrounded by a wreath of laurels, his name and the year of his victories inscribed upon it, the whole surrounded by a galaxy of stars. On the obverse is a figure of Fame, seated in a graceful attitude on the American eagle, which, with wings outspread, seems about to take flight. In her right hand she holds her trumpet, and in her left a scroll, on which are inscribed Corinth, Vicksburg, Mississippi River, and Chattanooga. On her head is an Indian helmet with radiating feathers. In front of the eagle is the emblematical shield of the United States. Below the group sprigs of the pine and palm, denoting the North and South, cross each other. Above the figure of Fame, in a curved line, is the motto, "Proclaim Liberty throughout the land." The edge is surrounded, like the obverse, by a circle of Byzantine stars, more in number than the existing States, thereby suggesting further additions in the future to the Union.

The author had the honor of being at the White House one evening in March, 1864, when Mr.

Washburne called with the Secretary of State to exhibit the medal to Mr. Lincoln before the first-mentioned gentleman—Grant's steadfast friend—proceeded to City Point to present it formally to the lieutenant general. After the President had looked for some time at the face the writer remarked, "Mr. President, what is on the obverse of the medal?" to which, with a merry twinkle in his eyes, he said, "Well, Seward, I suppose, by the obverse, our young friend the colonel means t'other side."

After nearly three years' continuous service, and having gained nearly a score of victories, in which he had captured nearly five hundred cannon and ninety thousand prisoners, in January, 1864, Grant asked for and obtained permission to visit St. Louis, where his eldest son was lying dangerously ill. A month later a debate arose in the House of Representatives on the question of reviving the grade of lieutenant general, with a view to conferring that rank upon Grant, an office held only in our history by Washington and Winfield Scott, the latter having merely the brevet rank. The bill was passed with only nineteen dissenting votes, the President at once conferred the position upon Grant, and the Senate of the United States confirmed the appointment. On March 3d Grant was called to Washington. "The Secretary of War," said the dispatch, "directs that you will report in person to the War Department as early as practicable, considering the condition of your command. If necessary, you will keep up telegraphic communication with your command while *en route* to Washington." The next day

he started for the national capital, sending off, before entering upon his journey, the following letter to General Sherman:

The bill reviving the grade of lieutenant general in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place. I now receive orders to report at Washington immediately in person, which indicates confirmation, or a likelihood of confirmation. I start in the morning to comply with the order.

While I have been eminently successful in this war—in at least gaining the confidence of the public—no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me.

There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable, to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success.

How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you can not know as well as I. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction. The word "you" I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day, but, starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now.

General Sherman received this letter near Memphis, Tenn., on March 10th, and immediately replied:

I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th instant. I will send a copy to General McPherson at once.

You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions.

You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings, that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits, neither of us being near. At Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed since.

I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype, Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest a man as should be. But the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his Saviour.

This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves; and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence. I

knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place, you would help me if alive.

My only point of doubt was in your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but I confess your common sense seems to have supplied all these.

Now as to the future. Do not stay in Washington; come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure, and I tell you the Atlantic slopes and the Pacific shores will follow its destiny, as sure as the limbs of a tree live and die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influence are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let these influences work.

Here lies the seat of the coming empire; and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.

These two charming letters, so characteristic of the men, and so honorable to both, can not but be read with the greatest pleasure. The successful soldier, on his way to Washington to assume command of all the armies of the nation, issued no windy proclamations or orders, he made no speeches, but without any sound of trumpet or drum to herald his approach, proceeded quietly and rapidly to Washington in pursuance of orders. When he was sometimes recognized at the railway stations, the people thronged around him, cheering lustily, and all striving to get a glimpse of the renowned commander. While *en route* he received the following magnanimous dispatch from General Halleck, whom he was about to supersede: "The Secretary of War directs me to say that your com-

mission as lieutenant general is signed, and will be delivered to you on your arrival at the War Department. I sincerely congratulate you on this recognition of your distinguished and meritorious services."

On March 8th Grant reached Washington, where he had never before spent more than one day. Arriving with many other passengers by the afternoon train from the North, there was the usual rush on reaching Willard's Hotel to register. The general, carrying a portmanteau and accompanied by his eldest son, a lad of fourteen, stepped forward when all had registered and wrote on the open page, "U. S. Grant and son, Galena, Ill." The office clerk, with that far-away look peculiar to the craft, and without glancing at the book, assigned the modest traveler and his youthful companion to the fifth floor. As the attendant was moving off with Grant and his son on the way to their lofty apartment, he chanced to look at the register. Had he been struck by a cyclone he could scarcely have experienced a greater degree of astonishment. As soon as he sufficiently recovered his wits, he ran after the general, and, overtaking him, with profuse apologies escorted the guests to the best rooms on the second floor, which had been reserved for them. As the clerk afterward said, "I expected General Grant to appear with a retinue of staff officers and servants, and could not suppose that the plainly attired and unassuming officer, who looked as if he might be a captain or major, was about to take command of all the Union armies."

Mr. Lincoln had never seen him and Secretary Stanton but once, in Louisville, during the previous

felt that concerted and continuous action on the part of all the Northern armies was necessary to success, and now, having the power, proceeded to carry out his plans. To quote his own words: "I determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land."

At the time of his taking command the opposing forces were situated as follows: The line of the Mississippi and of the Arkansas was garrisoned by the Union forces, thus giving them possession of the territory west of the Mississippi and north of the Arkansas. South of the latter the territory west of the Mississippi was almost wholly in the grasp of the enemy. There were a few unimportant points in southern Louisiana held by the Northern forces, and a garrison near the mouth of the Rio Grande. To defend this vast territory the enemy could muster an army of eighty thousand effective men, although probably not more than half that number was under arms at any one time. These were divided into guerrilla bands and small, swiftly moving columns difficult to discover and strike, but

October. At noon on the day following the general was formally received by the President in the Cabinet chamber at the White House, and, after being presented to the members of his Cabinet, Mr. Lincoln said: "General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant general in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so under God it will sustain you. I scarcely need add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence." To which Grant replied: "Mr. President, I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me, and I know if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

CHAPTER X.

COMMANDS ALL THE ARMIES.

SOON after receiving his commission General Grant left Washington for Brandy Station, Va., to consult with General Meade, then commanding the Army of the Potomac. The hero of Gettysburg, with a self-abnegation worthy of all praise, offered to resign in favor of Sherman or of any other commander whom Grant preferred to appoint; but the latter had work for Sherman in the West, and was glad to retain Meade in his responsible position, and one, we may remark *en passant*, that he filled to the perfect satisfaction of his superior officer. After this conference Grant returned to Washington, and then hurried West to consult with Sherman about the spring campaign and to surrender his former command.

On March 18th Sherman assumed this command, which was styled the Military Division of the Mississippi, and accompanied his chief as far as Cincinnati on the latter's return to Washington. Much of moment to the nation and to humanity at large was discussed on this journey. Sherman was put in possession of the comprehensive plan

of campaign conceived by Grant, and, we may be sure, added valuable suggestions of his own. The restoration to their commands of Generals McClellan, Buell, Burnside, Fremont, and others, who had been relieved of duty by Halleck, was also a topic of discussion. Grant left Washington for the West on March 11th. The next day the order naming him general of all the armies was promulgated. He received it while at Nashville, and on the 17th assumed command in these words: "In pursuance of the following order of the President, I assume command of the armies of the United States. Headquarters will be in the field, and, until further orders, will be with the Army of the Potomac. There will be an office headquarters in Washington, to which all official communications will be sent, except those from the army where the headquarters are at their address."

Six days afterward he arrived in Washington, and, to the inexpressible joy of the nation, immediately established his headquarters in the field. From this time a change in the conducting of campaigns was apparent. Hitherto the different armies East, West, and South had moved and struck independently of each other, and usually at different dates, so that the enemy, who always moved in the arc of the circle, could concentrate his troops on any threatened point, taking them for the purpose from that part of his line not menaced. During seasons of inactivity he could also furlough his men, and permit them to go to their homes and sow or secure their crops, thus producing supplies for their armies. Grant had long

felt that concerted and continuous action on the part of all the Northern armies was necessary to success, and now, having the power, proceeded to carry out his plans. To quote his own words: "I determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land."

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necessitating the presence of large bodies of troops to guard the Mississippi and protect the loyal people of the territory. East of the Mississippi the Union line followed the course of the Tennessee and Holston Rivers, including nearly all the State of Tennessee. West Virginia was substantially within the Northern line.

Virginia proper was held by the Confederates, except that part covered by the Army of the Potomac, then lying along the north bank of the Rapidan, the Potomac River, a small area about the mouth of the James, and the garrisons at Fort Monroe and Norfolk. Along the Atlantic coast the Northern army had effected lodgment at Plymouth, Washington, and New Berne in North Carolina, Beaufort, Folly and Morris Islands, Hilton Head, and Port Royal in South Carolina, and Fernandina and St. Augustine in Florida. Key West and Pensacola, on the Gulf coast, were also held by the Federals. But in the rear of the advanced Union lines were active bands of guerrillas and an intensely disloyal population, rendering protection of the Northern lines of communication necessary for long distances. Furthermore, a reign of despotism existed in the South, which forced every man and boy capable of bearing arms into the ranks, and turned those who could not into provosts for arresting deserters and returning them to the army.

Not only to defeat, but to capture and destroy the armies confronting him, and thus break the military power of the rebellion, was the gigantic task laid upon the shoulders of the new commander in chief. With comprehensive genius, untiring en-

ergy and patience, and perfect faith in ultimate success, he began his labors. To discover the right man for the place and put him there is one of the marks of greatness; and Grant's choice of Sherman and Thomas, Meade and Sheridan to be his principal subordinate commanders was not the least of the achievements that proved him to possess military genius of a high order.

The Confederate forces east of the Mississippi and west of the Alleghanies had been concentrated into one great army, commanded by Joseph E. Johnston, in Sherman's opinion the ablest general of the Confederacy. This army occupied a strong natural position, and was intrenched at Dalton, Ga., holding the passes of the Alleghanies, and covering Atlanta, an important railway center, and the gateway of Georgia to the North. He had also a large cavalry force under General Forrest in northeast Mississippi, and garrisons at the principal seaports on which to draw in an extremity. Sherman was now instructed to move against this army, to break it to pieces, and then to penetrate the enemy's country as far as possible, destroying his supplies and all warlike materials.

The Confederate forces east of the Alleghanies had been massed in another great army, called the Army of Northern Virginia, which now lay on the south bank of the Rapidan, extending from Mine Run westward, confronting the Army of the Potomac (which, as we have seen, occupied the north bank), and guarding the approaches to Richmond. It was commanded by Robert E. Lee, unquestionably the ablest of the Confederate generals. In his

power to make dispositions on the battlefield, to divine and checkmate the movements of an adversary, Lee was only surpassed by Grant, but the Virginian lacked Grant's broad and comprehensive genius, which enabled him to plan campaigns extending over the breadth of a continent, every movement in which should be as completely under his control as the pawns in the hand of an accomplished chess player.

The nature of the ground in Lee's rear favored him. No position could have been better adapted for defense than this planned by Nature. It was hilly and broken, a wilderness of forest and swamp intercepted by swift streams, flowing east or southeast, with the valley of each depressed below the general level, and therefore affording excellent lines of defense. Lee had intrenched himself on the Rapidan, and at intervals all the way back to Richmond, so that if dislodged from one position he could retire to another. He had also another advantage in that he moved within the arc of the circle, while Grant had the periphery; so that in the march for any superior objective point Lee could reach and seize it first.

General George G. Meade (1815–'72) was retained in command of the Army of the Potomac, sustaining the same relation toward Grant that Sherman and, later, Thomas and Sheridan sustained, although not so prominently in the public eye as they, from the fact that the commander in chief established his headquarters with him, and personally directed the movements of his army. But Grant's orders were in all cases given to

General Meade, who was charged with their execution in detail.

Before considering this final campaign from the Rapidan to the James, and thence to the Appomattox, let us notice in turn several subordinate yet contributory movements, each designed to exert its influence upon the general result. When Grant assumed command General Banks was engaged in an expedition up the Red River against Shreveport, La. Grant advised him a few days after that if he found it would take from ten to fifteen days longer time to capture the city than General Sherman had given his ten thousand troops to be absent from their command, to return the latter to Sherman even if it was necessary to abandon the expedition, as this force was necessary for movements east of the river; that if his expedition proved successful, he should hold Shreveport and the Red River with such force as he deemed necessary, and return with the remainder to the vicinity of New Orleans, planning no more expeditions designed to acquire territory, as it would probably be a part of the spring campaign to move against Mobile; that it certainly would be if troops enough could be collected to undertake it without embarrassing other movements; that New Orleans would be the point of departure for such an expedition; lastly, that he had directed General Steele to make a *bona fide* movement and not a feint in Arkansas as suggested by him. On March 22d Grant instructed him further: If successful against Shreveport, to leave the defense of the Red River to General Steele and the navy, abandon Texas entirely, except his hold on

the Rio Grande, and so fortify the line of the Mississippi that sixteen thousand men could guard it from Cairo to its mouth until active operations should be resumed west of that river. With the remainder of his force—estimated at thirty thousand men—he was to lose no time in making a demonstration on Mobile, to be followed by an attack in force. As his movements were to be co-operative with others elsewhere, it was impressed on him that he could not move too quickly. Two or more ironclads had been ordered to report to Admiral Farragut (1801–'70), which would give a strong naval force to co-operate. He, after consultation with Farragut, was to select his own line of approach, although Pascagoula, on the Gulf, was suggested as his base. "Preserve a profound secrecy of what you intend doing, and start at the earliest possible moment," were the concluding words of the order to General Banks.

Meade was informed that Lee's army would be his objective, and that wherever Lee went he must be ready to follow. Indeed, the holding of Lee in so viselike a grasp that he could not detach a regiment to the aid of Johnston or to defend Mobile was emphasized as one of the leading objects of the campaign. General Benjamin T. Butler (1818–'93), with the Army of the James, comprising twenty-three thousand men, held Fort Monroe and Norfolk, and was now re-enforced by Gilmore's command of ten thousand men from about Charleston. Butler was ordered, April 2, 1864, to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac by moving on Richmond along the south bank of the James—City

Point, at the head of the lakelike expansion of the James, being his first objective point. This he was to fortify and use as a base. In the Shenandoah Valley Sigel was placed in command, and ordered to send two columns south, one, under Ord and Averill, to move from Beverly, the other, under Crook, to march from Charleston, on the Kanawha (now West Virginia), and operate against the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad, by which means Grant hoped to deprive Lee of his granary, the Shenandoah Valley, and also to prevent his using that valley, as he had done heretofore, as a highway for the invasion of the North.

On March 26th Grant established his headquarters at Culpeper Courthouse, near that of General Meade. On May 1st, the roads having become passable, an order was issued for a general movement of all the armies not later than the 4th of May. For the campaign of the Army of the Potomac two plans had presented themselves. One was to cross the Rapidan *below* Lee's position and strike him on his right flank; the other to cross *above* him, and attack him on his left. If the latter plan were followed, Lee would be prevented from invading the North, and Richmond would be immediately threatened. Its disadvantages were that all supplies would have to be moved with the army, while it would be cut off from all communication with Butler on the James, Lee's army being interposed between the two. On the other hand, by taking the southerly route, the army could co-operate with Butler and use Brandy Station and other points on the tide-water rivers as a base of supplies

until a new base could be established on the York or James. These considerations led to the selection of the lower route. The Army of the Potomac was ordered to move on the morning of May 4th. So was the Army of the James, and not to halt until it had taken Richmond. So was Sigel's column in northern and western Virginia. So was Sherman's grand army at Chattanooga. There was to be a general movement all along the line. Of all the co-operating armies none failed to achieve the end desired except the Army of the James. It should be borne in mind that the campaign of the Wilderness was planned by Grant, and executed by Meade with the expectation that Butler's army would be under the walls of Richmond, if not within them, while it was being fought. Under the commander that General Grant wished to lead that army, the Confederate capital would doubtless have been captured and the Virginia campaign soon ended, but political considerations prevailed with the President, and Butler, a War Democrat, was retained.

At an early hour on May 4th General Meade began moving his army across the Rapidan, the cavalry, under General Sheridan, having the advance. This army was perhaps one of the best-drilled, organized, and equipped bodies of men ever brought into the field, and in material unsurpassed. It comprised three corps of infantry—the Second, Fifth, and Sixth, commanded by Generals Winfield S. Hancock, Gouveneur K. Warren, and John Sedgwick respectively—and a cavalry corps under command of General Philip H. Sheridan. The artillery, commanded by General Henry J. Hunt, was so

largely in excess as to embarrass the movement of the troops, and from the Wilderness Grant ordered a number of batteries returned to Washington. The Ninth Corps, commanded by General Burnside, at this time an independent organization, was to act under the direct orders of Grant. The total number in this great army was about one hundred and sixteen thousand.

The army was so organized and drilled that every brigade and regiment moved like parts of a perfect machine. Its supply train of four thousand wagons carried three days' forage and twelve days' rations, besides a supply of ammunition, and each wagon bore certain hieroglyphics, such as the corps' badge, division color, and brigade number, together with the nature of its contents, whether forage, rations, or ammunition, and the kind of each, so that a quartermaster could tell at a glance the corps, division, and brigade to which it belonged, and, if found astray, restore it to its proper position. The methods by which the trains were guarded, empty wagons returned, and loaded ones pushed forward were admirable and effective.

A telegraph and signal corps accompanied the army, and was another marvel of organization and drill. A wagon carrying a battery, telegraph instruments, and operator was assigned to each army, corps, division, and headquarters. Wagons loaded with light poles followed these. In advance were two men and a mule for each wagon, the mule carrying on a reel attached to its pack saddle two hundred pounds of insulated wire. The moment the army went into camp or halted for battle the men

with the wire and poles at once proceeded to put up their lines. The mule of each brigade would be led to the nearest flank of that brigade, the operator would seize the end of the wire, and the mule would then be led along the rear of the brigade, the wire uncoiling from the reel on his saddle as he advanced and falling upon the ground. When the wire was uncoiled the mule was led away, and, as the same movement had been in progress behind all the brigades, a line of wire would be lying on the ground along the rear of the entire army. These different wires were then united and elevated on the poles, and as a wagon bearing a telegraph instrument and operator was assigned each brigade headquarters and the headquarters of the commander in chief, in a few moments the commanding general would be in instant communication with every brigade commander in his army. The signal service, on the other hand, was designed for the march. A certain number of signal officers were assigned each corps, and moved in advance, or on either flank when the army marched, seized high points of ground, or, if in thick forest, climbing the tallest trees, and by means of their flags kept the commanders informed of the movements of the different corps, and often of those of the enemy.

The Confederate army was composed of the First, Second, and Third Army Corps, commanded by Generals James Longstreet, Jubal A. Early, and Ambrose P. Hill respectively; there was also a cavalry corps commanded by General J. E. B. Stuart. In material it was composed of men of the same blood and training as the Northern army,

equally well drilled, but not so well organized and equipped. Grant's army was the greater in numbers, but this was in a measure compensated for by Lee's superior advantages of position. Lee's "effective total" with which he could oppose Grant's advance was about seventy-five thousand, mostly well-seasoned veterans, while many new regiments and raw recruits with inexperienced officers were included in the Army of the Potomac.

Many changes of command in both armies occurred soon after Grant's advance into Virginia, by deaths and other casualties of war. The wounding of Longstreet in the Wilderness advanced Robert H. Anderson to the head of the First Corps, and the death of Stuart, mortally wounded in his first encounter with Sheridan, made General Wade Hampton his successor in command of the cavalry of Lee's army. The death of General Sedgwick in the Wilderness campaign advanced Horatio G. Wright to the head of the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac.

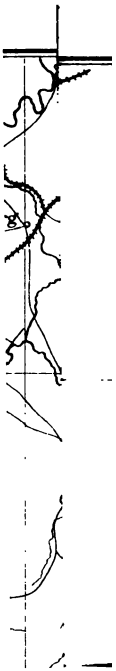
Before the army began its advance into Virginia Grant received from the President a Godspeed in the following words: "Not expecting to see you before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant, and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious any great disaster or the capture of our men in great numbers should be avoided, I

know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."

CHAPTER XI.

THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN.

In the advance to open the Virginia campaign, the Fifth Corps marched directly for Germania Ford, some ten miles below Lee's extreme right, a cavalry division preceding it to hold back skirmishers and to capture and hold the ford. Sedgwick with the Sixth Corps followed them closely. Hancock with the Second Corps moved by a parallel road six miles to the eastward, and crossed at Ely's Ford, still farther down the river. No opposition was made at either ford, and Grant's assertion that the movement was a total surprise to Lee was no doubt true. The crossings were seized by the cavalry before daylight, the enemy's pickets guarding them being driven in, and the pontoon bridges laid before sunrise. By nightfall the whole army had crossed, with most of the four thousand wagons of the supply train. From Germania Ford the Brock Road lead directly through the Wilderness to Spottsylvania Courthouse, intersecting at Mine Run the enemy's position, but well toward his right. Lee's headquarters were at Orange Courthouse. From there two roads ran east to Fredericksburg parallel



to the Wilderness, the most southerly known as the Orange Courthouse Plank Road, the most northerly as the Orange Turnpike, and both intersecting the Brock Road north of the battleground. There were also roads east of the battlefield leading from the old ground of Chancellorsville to Spottsylvania.

As soon as the infantry had crossed, Wilson's cavalry was pushed forward to Parker's store on the Orange Plank Road, and Gregg to the left toward Chancellorsville. They were promptly followed by the Fifth Corps, with the Sixth in supporting distance. Warren with the Fifth Corps reached the Wilderness Tavern by noon, and intrenched. Sedgwick was in camp on the right of Warren by sundown. Hancock with the Second Corps moved from Ely's Ford parallel to Warren's advance, and camped at night six miles east of him. Grant, after seeing his army in motion, had passed rapidly from Culpeper Courthouse, crossed the Rapidan before Sedgwick's corps reached it, and established his headquarters for the night in a house near the river which had been deserted by its tenants. Here, after dark, he learned from dispatches that Butler and Sherman had moved according to instructions.

Meantime Lee had not been idle. As soon as he was advised that the Federal advance had crossed the Rapidan, he moved east to intercept it, Hill's and Longstreet's corps by the Orange Plank Road, Ewell's by the Orange Turnpike. Longstreet was then twenty miles away at Gordonsville, the others nearer at hand—Ewell so near, indeed, that he encamped that night but four miles from Mine Run. The Federal forces were ordered to move early on

the morning of the 5th, Warren to Parker's store on the Orange Plank Road, displacing Wilson's cavalry who were then to advance farther on to Craig's meetinghouse. Sedgwick again supported Warren, closing in on his right. Hancock was to move southwest to connect with Warren's left, his line of battle to reach Shady Grove Church.

General Warren came upon the enemy at 6 A. M., before reaching Parker's, and, on reporting the fact, was ordered to halt and prepare to attack. Wright's division of Sedgwick's corps was at once ordered to the support of Warren's right, and Getty's division of the same corps to march by his rear to the support of Warren's left, the quickest way of re-enforcing the latter, whose line of battle at this time faced the enemy on both front and flank—one side on the Orange Plank Road, the other on the Orange Turnpike. At 9 A. M. Hancock was ordered to the support of Getty. He himself arrived about noon, but his troops at that hour were far in the rear. Warren at this time—noon—attacked and gained some ground, but no decided advantage.

The heavy forests and thickets and the absence of roads greatly retarded his operations. Getty did not succeed in connecting with Warren for some time, and during the interval was in a dangerous situation. Wilson with his division of cavalry was also cut off from the rest of the army, being far away to the south, and later in the afternoon Sheridan sent Gregg's division of cavalry in search of him. The latter found him at Todd's Tavern, confronted by a superior force of both cavalry and in-

fantry, and retreating before it. The combined forces were, however, able to drive the enemy back.

At 2 P. M. Hancock's troops began to arrive, and he was ordered to connect with Getty and attack, but the nature of the ground prevented his taking position promptly. At four Getty was ordered to advance whether Hancock was ready or not. The latter, on moving out, found the enemy under Heth in force near at hand, and engaged him. Hancock, on hearing the roar of battle, promptly ordered up Birney's and Mott's divisions, and later Carroll's and Owen's brigades, to the support of Getty, and thus saved him from being crushed. A fierce struggle then ensued, and continued until nightfall, neither army gaining any decided advantage.

Immediately on the close of the battle the commander in chief began making his combinations for the next day's conflict. Longstreet he knew to be marching with twelve thousand men to re-enforce Hill's right, and might join the latter at any moment. Grant determined to attack before this junction was effected, and ordered Hancock to assault at half-past four o'clock in the morning; but, on General Meade's requesting that it be deferred until six to enable him to complete his dispositions, he modified his order, placing the hour at five. At the same time he planned various supporting movements, designed to keep the enemy employed all along his line. Wadsworth with his division lay in a line perpendicular to Hill's, and was ordered to attack the latter's left at the same hour. Simultaneous attacks were to be made by Sedgwick and Warren on their fronts.

Burnside, who was coming up with two divisions, was ordered to enter between Wadsworth and Warren, and assault the moment he got into position, and, if he succeeded in breaking the enemy's center, to swing around to the left and double up his entire army. Hancock was fully informed as to these dispositions, and was given nearly one half the Army of the Potomac to operate with. Lee, however, was desirous of delaying the attack on his right until Longstreet's arrival, and before five ordered an assault by his left on the Federal right. But the feint was detected by Grant, and availed Lee nothing. The right held its ground, and at the appointed hour Hancock with half the Army of the Potomac attacked Hill, first sending a division under General Barlow, with all his artillery, to the Catharpin Road, along which he had learned part of Longstreet's corps was advancing. A desperate conflict of an hour followed; then the enemy broke and fled in confusion.

Had the nature of the ground permitted Hancock to observe this disorganization, and take proper advantage of it, it is probable that Lee would not have made another stand outside of his intrenchments at Richmond. But it was not observed, and Hancock, after pursuing the retreating force a mile or more, contented himself with holding his advanced position. But in the afternoon Longstreet effected a junction with Hill, and the latter, encouraged by the addition of fresh troops, turned and himself attacked. The brigade of Hancock's corps in advance was borne back crushed upon the main line. Then Mott's division was encountered, and

also fell back in confusion; but the main body coming up, the advanced position was maintained for some hours. Toward night, however, Hancock withdrew to the original position held in the morning, which had been strongly intrenched.

Wadsworth was mortally wounded in this battle, and was left in the hands of the enemy. On the Confederate side General Jenkins was killed, and General Longstreet so seriously wounded as to be carried from the field. Learning of this, Lee took command of his right in person, and at four in the afternoon attacked the Federal left, his lines moving up under cover of the timber to within a hundred yards. An almost hand-to-hand conflict ensued, lasting for half an hour, when Ward's brigade of Birney's division and part of Mott's division gave way and retreated in disorder. The enemy, under R. H. Anderson, followed up his advantage, and succeeded in planting his flags on a part of the Federal intrenchments, but was quickly dislodged by Carroll's brigade of Gibbon's division, which charged at the double quick and drove back the Confederates with heavy loss.

At this time a part of the intrenchments were in flames. The bursting shells had set the forests on fire, and the terrors of a conflagration were added to the horrors of battle. The tide of combat had flowed and ebbed over a tract of country averaging three quarters of a mile in width, and over this area the flames now swept, disfiguring the dead and burning or suffocating the wounded, who were unable to save themselves. The repulse of Anderson created a panic in the Confederate ranks. Had

Hancock taken advantage of it by ordering a bayonet charge of his entire force, he would no doubt have won the day. But the Union general knew nothing of his enemy's condition, and, as his men were short of ammunition, they did not follow. The golden opportunity was lost.

During this time the battle had been raging fiercely in front of Sedgwick's, Warren's, and Burnside's corps, with no signal advantage to either side, except that Lee had been prevented from sending re-enforcements to his right. As night fell Lee withdrew his entire army into his intrenchments, and skirmishers, sent out on the morning of the 7th to discover his position, found it withdrawn in places a mile and a half from the Federal line, nor could a reconnoissance in force during the day tempt him to come out for a renewal of the combat. "More desperate fighting," says Grant in his Memoirs, "has not been witnessed on this continent than that of the 5th and 6th of May."

On the afternoon of the 7th Grant learned from Washington that Sherman had probably attacked Johnston that day, and that Butler had carried City Point by surprise on the 5th. Well aware that Lee had been for several hours in receipt of this news, and fearing lest the latter should move rapidly to Richmond and crush Butler before he could join him, Grant determined on the bold and somewhat hazardous movement of marching his army by Lee's right flank and taking a new position at Spottsylvania Courthouse, between the Confederate army and Richmond. Spottsylvania was an admirable defensive position, being situated on the ridge di-

viding the Ny and Po Rivers, a short distance above where the Mat, Ta, Po, and Ny joined to form the Mattapony River.

It was vitally necessary that the *coup* should be kept secret from the enemy, and a night march was therefore determined upon. The order for it was given to Meade at half-past six on the morning of the 7th, and directed him to make all his preparations that day, one army corps to take position at Spottsylvania Courthouse, one at Todd's Tavern, a third near the intersection of the Piney Branch and Spottsylvania Road with the road leading from Alsops to Old Courthouse. "If this is done," it continued, "throw trains forward early in the morning to the Ny River. Let Hancock remain where he is until Warren passes him, then let him follow and become the right of the new line. Let Burnside march to Piney Branch Church, Sedgwick along the pike to Chancellorsville, and on to his destination; Burnside along the plank road to its intersection with the Orange and Fredericksburg Plank Road, and then follow Sedgwick to his destination. Let all vehicles be got out of hearing of the enemy before the troops move, and then let them get off quietly." All hospitals were to be moved that day to Chancellorsville. "It is more than probable," the order continued, "that the enemy will concentrate for a heavy attack on Hancock this afternoon; if they do, be prepared to resist them, and follow up with your whole force any success you may gain. Such a result would necessarily modify these instructions."

The enemy did not attack, however, and soon

after dark Warren withdrew quietly from his position on the Confederate front and began his march, Sedgwick quickly following. The movement was a complete surprise to Lee; he did not for a moment divine its purpose, but thought it a retreat to the Federal base of supplies at Fredericksburg, and so informed his government. But the movement failed as a surprise purely from one of those accidents impossible to foresee, which so often determine the fate of battles. Lee, hearing of the Federal wagon trains which were sent off on the 7th to the eastward of the roads the troops were to use, concluded, as before remarked, that his opponent was retreating to Fredericksburg, and ordered Anderson, now commanding Longstreet's corps, to move to Spottsylvania next morning, the 8th, and occupy it. But the forests were so thick with fire and smoke that Anderson could not bivouac within them, and so marched on all night to Spottsylvania, occupying it before the Union advance came up. Thus Fate a second time in one short campaign robbed Grant of a signal advantage, the first having been when General Hancock failed to take advantage of the confusion in the Confederate ranks on the morning of the 6th.

Sheridan had on the 7th ordered Wilson to seize Spottsylvania, and Merritt with two brigades of cavalry to guard the bridge over the Po—a narrow but deep stream—which Anderson would have to cross to reach the town; but Meade countermanded this order to Merritt, and Anderson therefore found no opposition to his advance. Wilson, it is true, had seized the town and held it with one division

of cavalry, but could not hold it against Anderson's entire corps. When Warren's advance reached Spottsylvania it found the enemy intrenched, and Warren, supposing it to be a small body of cavalry, ordered an assault at once. Quickly repulsed, he reformed his line and threw his whole corps upon the enemy, this time gaining a position in his front, where he intrenched, while his right and left divisions drove the enemy back some distance.

As soon as Warren's movement had fairly begun, Grant passed on in advance of him, accompanied by Meade and their staff and a small escort of cavalry, and established headquarters at Piney Branch Church, where Sedgwick lay with his corps. Here he could survey all parts of the field. Being desirous of crushing Anderson before Lee could re-enforce him, he ordered a general attack—Sedgwick to support Warren and Hancock at Todd's Tavern on the Brock Road, and Burnside, who was guarding the wagon trains on the extreme left, to be ready to attack at a moment's notice. But something detained Sedgwick—it was nearly night before his junction with Warren was effected—and then Warren assaulted by piecemeal instead of *en masse*, sending in one division at a time, each being repulsed in succession.

Here Grant lost another golden opportunity, first from Sedgwick's failure to arrive in time, and, second, through the incapacity of his corps commander, Warren. The latter was a brave and gallant officer, who would have made an admirable division commander, but was too much given to forecasting possible events and anticipating details

to become a good corps commander. Grant thus aptly characterized him: "When he received an order to do anything it would at once occur to his mind how all the balance of the army should be engaged so as properly to co-operate with him. His ideas were generally good, but he would forget that the person giving him orders had thought of others at the same time he had of him. In like manner when he did get ready to execute an order, after giving most intelligent instructions to division commanders, he would go in with one division, holding the others in reserve until he could superintend their movements in person also, forgetting that division commanders could execute an order without his presence." This disability General Grant believed to be constitutional and beyoung his control. For a small command he declared him to be of "superior ability, quick perception, and personal courage."

As late as the morning of the 8th Lee believed that his opponent's objective was Fredericksburg, and dispatched Early—now in command of Hill's corps—to Spottsylvania by the Brock Road—the same the Federal troops had advanced upon—and the latter only discovered his commander's mistake when he came squarely upon Hancock's force at Todd's Tavern as it was marching toward the town. Hancock turned to defend his rear, and was thus prevented from joining in the first day's battle of Spottsylvania. Early, however, suffered greater detention, not only from battle, but by being forced to make a *détour* in order to gain his position. By the 9th the various corps had all been massed

on the field, and the sanguinary battle of Spottsylvania Courthouse began.

The Federal dispositions for the attack were as follows: Warren had the right, covering the Brock and other roads converging on Spottsylvania. Sedgwick was posted on his left; Burnside on the extreme left. Hancock—who was ordered up from Todd's Tavern as soon as it became apparent that Early had left his front—took post on Warren's right, thus holding the extreme Federal right. One division—Mott's—was left at Todd's until afternoon. With the other three Hancock formed line of battle on a hill overlooking the Po, and early in the afternoon was ordered to cross and, if possible, gain the enemy's flank.

General Sedgwick had been killed in the morning by a sharpshooter as he stood reconnoitering the enemy's position, and Wright had been assigned to his command. Hancock, after crossing the Po, found that he was upon the left flank of Lee's army, as desired, but that he was separated from it and from Meade's force also by the Po, here a very winding stream, at the point where Hancock crossed flowing nearly due east, but a little below turning and running nearly due south, thus cutting him off from both armies. The only advantage gained by his crossing was that it compelled Lee to re-enforce his left, thus weakening his right and center. On the morning of the 10th Hancock attempted to recross the Po in his front and attack Lee's left, but was met by a portion of Early's command, which had been transferred from the right under cover of the darkness, and, after throwing one brigade

across—which found the enemy intrenched and in a commanding position—he abandoned the attempt.

Grant took advantage of this weakening of Lee's center to meet Hancock's movement by ordering Warren and Wright to attack that portion of his line. Hancock had recrossed the Po with two divisions—Gibbon's and Birney's—which were placed, Gibbon's on the right of Warren and Birney's in his rear as a reserve. The third division—Barlow's—by this movement was left unsupported on the south bank of the Po, and the enemy, seeing this, attacked the latter in force, but was gallantly repulsed with great loss. They renewed the assault, and were again repulsed with even greater slaughter, but General Barlow was shortly withdrawn without being again molested.

Meanwhile before noon Warren had been reconnoitering for his assault upon the center; he found between him and the enemy a deep ravine so overgrown with trees and bushes as to be almost impenetrable, but no other great natural obstacles, and recommended an attack. Wright also sent out a reconnoitering party on his front, which gained a position in advance of his main line. He then formed an assaulting column of twelve regiments, and assigned Colonel Emory Upton, of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York Volunteers, to command it. About four in the afternoon a general assault was ordered, Warren's and Wright's corps, with Mott's division of Hancock's corps, being ordered to attack simultaneously. In a few moments within the deep forests above the Confederate line a fierce conflict began. From the

station in the rear of Warren, where the two commanding generals stood, little could be seen, but the explosions of musketry and artillery marked pretty accurately the position of the combatants.

General Warren was repulsed with loss, but the enemy did not pursue his advantage. Wright had been more successful, Upton with his storming party having carried the enemy's intrenchments, and then, opening and turning to left and right, captured several guns and hundreds of prisoners. Mott was ordered to his assistance, but failed to obey the order. Other troops were then ordered to his support, but were so long in moving that Grant reluctantly sent a message to Upton to withdraw; the latter, however, was so confident of being able to hold the point of vantage gained that the order was countermanded, and a renewal of the general assault commanded. Hancock had now returned from bringing off Barlow, and his corps, together with Warren's and Wright's, was hurled a second time upon the Confederate line; but the enemy's works were too well constructed and manned to be carried by any force that could be concentrated upon any one point, and, although the troops succeeded in getting up to and, in some cases, over the defenses, they failed to carry them, and as night fell were withdrawn. Upton secured his prisoners, but not his captured guns. For his gallant conduct Grant very properly conferred upon him on the spot the rank of brigadier general.

In this battle also one of those annoying accidents occurred by which a signal advantage was lost to the Union forces. Burnside on the extreme

left, meeting with little or no opposition, had advanced to within a few hundred yards of Spottsylvania Courthouse, thus practically turning Lee's right. He was ignorant of this, however, and Grant, occupied with the assaults in the center, was not apprised of it in time to improve the golden opportunity. At night, finding that the movement had separated him from Wright's command, his supporting corps, he was ordered to fall back and join the latter—a manœuver which necessitated a retreat of nearly a mile, and lost to the Union army the advantage gained. Not once during the day had the enemy shown a disposition to come out of his intrenchments to give battle, except in the case of the two attacks on Barlow's division, when he had been repulsed with heavy loss.

On the 11th there was almost no fighting. Dispatches from Butler through the War Department reported that his cavalry under Kautz had destroyed the railroad south of Petersburg, thus cutting off Beauregard from Richmond, and had defeated Hill with great loss to the latter; also that Sheridan, who had been sent around the left of Lee's army to attack his cavalry and communications, had destroyed ten miles of railway between the latter and Richmond, with one and one half million rations, and most of the necessary medical stores for the Confederate army.

On the 12th the battle of Spottsylvania was resumed. A salient in the enemy's line had been discovered by Mott during a reconnoissance made on the 11th, and this it was decided to make the point of attack. Hancock with three divisions was ordered

to join Burnside with the Ninth Corps at 4 A. M. in an attack on the salient, Hancock attacking on the right, Burnside on the left. Both movements were to be kept secret from the enemy, and to be performed by night. Grant sent two officers of his staff to Burnside to impress upon him the necessity for vigorous and concerted action, and the same charge was given to Hancock. It is barely daybreak at 4 A. M. in Virginia in May, but on this particular morning a thick fog intensified the gloom, and delayed the attack for half an hour. At half-past four, however, the assaulting column moved slowly forward. Barlow on the left in double column, Birney on the right, Mott behind Birney, with Gibbon in reserve, pressed up an ascending, heavily wooded slope, struggled through a marsh, and then within two hundred yards of the vague outlines of the Confederate breastworks gave a loud cheer, and with a rush charged up to and over the walls.

Right and left entered almost at the same moment. The defenders, though taken by surprise, rallied and fought desperately with pistols and clubbed muskets, but were quickly overpowered, and the Stars and Stripes were raised over the salient. Twenty or more guns with their equipment, several thousand stand of small arms, and some four thousand prisoners were among the fruits of this brilliant *coup*. Hancock, never deficient in promptitude, turned the captured guns on his enemy, and advanced within his intrenchments. Lee resisted with his utmost power, and, after a gallant struggle, Hancock was forced to fall back as far as the captured salient, where he maintained his position.

Meanwhile Burnside on the left had reached the enemy's parapet, and one division—Potter's—had scaled it, but was unable to hold the wall. When Hancock was pressed back Wright was ordered to his support, and arrived about six o'clock.

At eight General Warren was also ordered up, but was so slow in obeying that his orders were again and again repeated. At last, about eleven o'clock, Grant gave Meade authority to remove him from his command if he did not act promptly. The battle continued all day and until three o'clock in the morning. Five times Lee, ordering up re-enforcements from his extreme left, assaulted desperately, but without moving Hancock from his position. The latter, massing his artillery on the heights behind, and firing over the heads of his troops, made deadly havoc in the enemy's ranks, and aided his men in maintaining their position.

The forests between the foes were leveled by shot and shell as if by an army of woodcutters. Trees eighteen inches in diameter were shorn off by minie balls. The losses of the enemy were enormous. Grant reported that whole organizations were obliterated, naming a division, a brigade, and a regiment. His army also suffered severely, but not even a company lost its autonomy. After the battle, it is true, Warren's corps was broken up temporarily, one division being given to Wright, one to Hancock, and the third left with Warren, although Meade ordered his chief of staff, General Humphreys, to remain with the division and give it orders in his name.

There was little or no fighting on the 13th, the

troops being engaged in the burial of the dead. On this day Grant wrote to Washington, recommending for promotion the brave men who had shown themselves worthy of it during the past eight days of battle. After naming Wright and Gibbon for major generals, Colonels Carroll, Candless, and Upton for brigadier generals, Hancock and Dodge for brigadier generals in the regular army, and Humphreys as major general, he added: "General Meade has more than met my most sanguine expectations. He and Sherman are the fittest officers for large commands I have come in contact with. If their services can be rewarded by promotion to the rank of major generals in the regular army, the honor would be worthily bestowed, and I would feel personally gratified. I would not like to see one of these promotions at this time without the other." Grant's wishes were complied with.

It rained almost continuously from the 12th to the 17th, putting a stop to nearly all operations. On the 15th Grant heard from Butler that he had captured the outer works at Drury's Bluff, on the James, and had cut the railroad and telegraph south of Richmond on the Danville system; and the next day from Sherman that he had driven Johnston out of Dalton, Ga., and was following him south; also from Sheridan that he had passed the outer defenses of Richmond. That city was for the time being isolated from the world, every railroad and telegraph line leading out of it having been cut by the daring Union raiders.

On the night of the 17th hostilities were resumed, Hancock and Wright marching back to

their old positions, and at 4 A. M. making an unsuccessful assault on the Confederate lines. The 17th proved a day of evil tidings. News was received that Sigel had been badly defeated at New Market, in the valley of Virginia, and was retreating. He was promptly relieved, and Hunter assigned to his command. Banks had also been defeated in Louisiana, and had been superseded by Canby. Butler had been driven from Drury's Bluff, but still held the Petersburg Road. These tidings caused the commander some anxious moments, for these disasters would inevitably lead to the re-enforcement of General Lee both from the south and from the valley.

Grant determined to effect another flank movement before the new troops should arrive, the James River this time being his objective. His preparations were made with his accustomed vigor. He changed his base of supplies from Fredericksburg to Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, and later to White House, on the Pamunkey. One hundred guns with their equipments were returned to Washington as being in excess of the artillery required. The movement south began at twelve on the night of the 19th, Hancock leading it by moving his force along the line of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, with orders to advance as far toward Richmond as he could, fighting the enemy wherever he might meet him.

If Lee pursued with his main body, the other three corps, which had been massed as closely to his front as possible, were to follow and attack before he could intrench. But Lee, although Grant

gave him abundant opportunity, could not be induced to leave his intrenchments and fight in the open. The challenge which Grant gave by detaching one corps and sending it unsupported in advance, was not accepted, and the conclusion of the Union commander was that Lee would act only on the defensive, and that he might continue his movement with little danger of interruption from his adversary.

Before Grant entered upon the Virginia campaign of May, 1864, he said to Sherman, "Rebel armies are now the strategic points to strike." In a communication to Meade he wrote: "Lee's army will be your objective point. Wherever Lee's army goes, you will go also;" and to an intimate military friend Grant remarked, in one of those characteristic phrases of simple directness peculiar to him, "I feel as certain of crushing Lee and capturing Richmond as I do of dying." At the close of the first day's fierce fighting in the Wilderness, with its heavy losses of thousands killed, wounded, or captured, a young officer from a distant part of the battlefield presented himself, bringing bad news and a gloomy countenance to the chief; but, nothing daunted or disheartened, the indomitable Grant replied: "It is all right, Wilson. We move forward at four o'clock in the morning. We are going through; there is no doubt about it." The general was almost the only man in our army that was not dismayed. Those nearest to Grant deemed it marvelous that he could remain calm and unmoved under such an unexpected meeting with Lee in the Wilderness, and yet abate no jot of heart or hope,

but with absolute confidence press right onward. His was

> "A buoyant heart, a never-quailing soul,
> A purpose swerveless as the hests of fate."

When the order came from Grant to advance at daylight and to attack the enemy wherever he could be found, both armies alike felt that the man had at length appeared with but two words in his military vocabulary, Victory or Annihilation, Lee himself sharing in this feeling. Instead of falling back, as the Army of the Potomac had always done in similar circumstances, the battalions of the North moved forward at break of day. An aid endeavored to deter the general from taking up Burnside's bridge over the Rapidan, and he answered, "One bridge and the ford will be sufficient to cross all the survivors of this army if we should have to fall back." When Grant stripped his commissary trains of their guards to fill a gap in his long line of battle, thereby exposing his army to the loss of all its provisions, he grimly replied, "When this army is whipped, it will not want any provisions." Later on he wrote to Washington: "This army has now won a most decisive victory and *followed the enemy.* This is all that it ever wanted to make it as good an army as ever fought a battle."

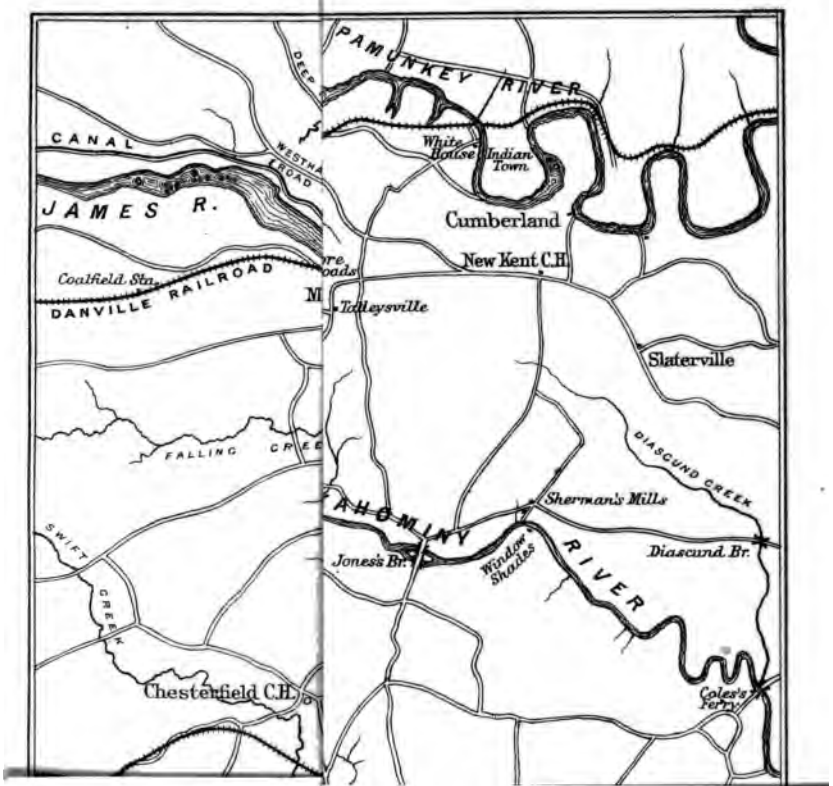
Again Grant communicates to the War Department a dispatch containing one of his most celebrated phrases: "We have now ended the eighth day of very hard fighting. The result up to this time is very much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think

the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken more than five thousand prisoners in battle, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers. *I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.*" Of Butler Grant wrote: "His army, therefore, though in a position of great security, was as completely shut off from further operations against Richmond as if he had been in a bottle strongly corked. It required comparatively a small force of the enemy to hold him there." Grant's orders to Hancock were to "Fight the enemy wherever he can be found"; and to Sherman he says: "Lee is averse to going out of Virginia, and if the cause of the South is lost, he wants Richmond to be the last place evacuated. If he has such views, it may be well to indulge him until we get everything else in our hands." Grant writes to the War Department that he wishes all the crops destroyed in the Shenandoah Valley, "so that crows flying over it for the balance of this season will have to carry their provender with them"; and to Sheridan he says, "If this war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste."

CHAPTER XII.

THE SIEGES OF PETERSBURG AND RICHMOND.

THE country south of the Po differs from that north of it, being open and cultivated, with broad and good roads. The Northern generals, however, had no reliable maps of the region, and were forced to depend upon scouts and reconnoissances to locate the roads in advance of each corps. Through this open country Hancock in advance marched first easterly to Guiney's Station on the Fredericksburg Railroad, then southerly to Bowling Green and Milford, reaching the latter place on the night of the 21st, and encountering there a part of Pickett's division, which was hastening forward from Richmond to re-enforce Lee, as Grant had expected. A brief conflict served to scatter them, with a loss of several hundred prisoners. This same day—the 21st—Warren left his camps and marched to Guiney's Station, reaching there at nightfall. This manœuver left two corps in Lee's front in isolated positions, either of which Lee might have attacked with superior force. Yet he made no attempt upon either, and the opportunity passed. It was perhaps the most daring small movement every played on the chess board of war, and shows Grant's perfect


PAMUNKEY RIVER
CANAL
JAMES R.
White House
Indian Town
Cumberland
New Kent C.H.
Coalfield Sta.
DANVILLE RAILROAD
Tidleysville
Slaterville
FALLING
DIASCUND CREEK
Sherman's Mills
AHOMINY
Jones's Br.
Window Shades
Diascund Br.
RIVER
SWIFT CREEK
Chesterfield C.H.
Coles's Ferry

confidence that his adversary had been so punished that he would not under any circumstances give battle in open field. Lee no doubt suspected a *ruse de guerre*. By the morning of the 22d Burnside's and Wright's corps were at Guiney's Station, and the whole army was in motion.

The first defensive position of importance south of Spottsylvania is the North Anna, a deep but not rapid stream flowing southeast into the Pamunkey. To the south bank of this river Lee, always moving by interior lines, transferred his army, and when the invading force reached the north bank it found him intrenched on the south side, with his center at Ox Ford, his left wing reaching back to the Little River, an affluent of the Anna, joining it a few miles below, and his right extended eastward, both wings forming an acute angle when regarded from the center. Warren's and Wright's corps had marched to cross the Anna at Jericho Ford, Hancock at the Wooden Bridge, near the crossing of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, a distance of six miles intervening between the two points. Burnside's corps moved by a middle road, which crossed the Anna at Ox Ford, the point before described as being the center of Lee's position, and which was nearer the Wooden Bridge than Jericho Ford. Burnside was confronted at this ford by the Confederate army, and could not cross. Hancock on the left and the corps of Wright and Warren on the right, on crossing the river, were separated by General Lee's entire army, which, as we have seen, extended from the North Anna at Ox Ford south to the Little River.

Hancock after crossing formed his line of battle facing west; Warren and Wright, on the other hand, faced east. To re-enforce the right wing from the left, and *vice versa*, the North Anna would have to be crossed and recrossed, and a march of over six miles made. Lee, however, could concentrate rapidly at any point nearly his whole force. Here again a great opportunity was given him, but he did not improve it by coming out of his works and attacking, although he had been largely re-enforced. For several days the situation remained unchanged, Hancock confronting Lee on the east, Warren and Wright on the west, while Burnside, with one division only on the north bank of the Anna at Ox Ford—one division having been sent to support Hancock and one to re-enforce Warren and Wright—threatened his center.

Finding that Lee would not fight, Grant decided to make another attempt to place his army between the former and Richmond, and, if not successful, at least plant it on the James nearer the Confederate stronghold. Again he shifted his base of supplies, this time from Port Royal to White House, on the Pamunkey, which place was connected by rail with Richmond, the wagon trains crossing overland and the supplies being sent around by water. Butler was ordered to co-operate by sending Smith's corps to the White House. From his present position to turn Lee's left would necessitate the crossing of three rivers—the Little, New Found, and South Anna, all considerable streams flowing southeasterly to form the Pamunkey. To turn Lee's right was impossible, since it rested on a large swamp.

Grant again determined on a movement by his left flank, and to cross the Pamunkey at Hanover Town below the junction of the three rivers named. Again his right was withdrawn secretly by night, recrossed the North Anna, marched around the center, and off southeasterly to strike Hanover Town and secure the crossing at Littlepage's Bridge and Taylor's Ford. Wright's "best division," with Sheridan's cavalry—which had now rejoined the main body—was detailed on this service, the movement commencing on the night of the 25th. At the same moment the other divisions began moving for the same point. Burnside's corps was to follow Wright's, Hancock's to bring up the rear.

The movement was completely successful, the Pamunkey being crossed and Hanover Town gained almost without striking a blow. Hanover is but twenty miles from Richmond, but the country between is a difficult one for an army to operate in, being low, swampy, and intersected by sluggish streams. Two roads led from Hanover to Richmond, the most direct crossing the Chickahominy River at Meadow Ridge, near the Central Railroad Bridge, the other *via* New Cold Harbor and Old Cold Harbor. A few miles out these roads intersected a third, running by way of Mechanicsville to Richmond. The Chickahominy is the only large river between the Pamunkey and James, and, after flowing southeast about midway between the two, turns south and falls into the latter stream.

From Hanover Sheridan was sent toward Mechanicsville to discover Lee's position. He found his cavalry a short distance out, dismounted and

intrenched, and, after a sharp skirmish, dislodged and scattered them. On the 29th the different corps advanced some three miles—Wright's toward Hanover Courthouse, Hancock's toward Totopotomoy Creek, Warren's to the left on the Shady Grove Church Road—without meeting the enemy in force; but Hancock the next day, on reaching the line of the Totopotomoy, found him in a strong position behind defenses. In making dispositions some fighting occurred, but the Confederates were easily driven back. With the evening Grant received news of the arrival of Smith's corps at White House, and ordered Sheridan to send a cavalry force to guide him to the main army and to caution him to be on his guard against a sudden dash of the enemy while on the march.

On the 31st Sheridan with his main force advanced on Old Cold Harbor, and after a sharp action captured it; but the enemy, well aware of its importance to Grant, soon returned with a larger force, hoping to retake it. Sheridan was about retreating, being greatly outnumbered, but, receiving orders at the critical moment to hold it at all hazards, he turned the enemy's own guns upon him, and gallantly held his ground. Night fell before the enemy could make ready, and the assault was postponed until morning. Meantime Wright's corps, which had had the Federal right, was ordered to March direct to Cold Harbor, which was on the left, and relieve Sheridan. The men toiled on all night. It was expected that they would arrive by daylight, but it was nine o'clock on the morning of June 1st before they came up. Meantime Sheri-

dan's troopers had repulsed two fierce assaults with heavy loss to the enemy, and the latter, seeing Wright's corps advancing, sullenly retreated. Smith had also been ordered forward from White House to Cold Harbor, but by a subordinate's blunder his order read Newcastle instead of Cold Harbor, so that it was three in the afternoon ere he arrived. He brought from Butler's army twelve thousand five hundred men, but a division was left at White House in reserve for the time being.

Lee's line now extended from Atlee's Station, on the Virginia Central Railroad, southeast to the vicinity of Cold Harbor. General Warren's corps held the left, extending to the Mechanicsville Road, being about three miles south of the Totopotomoy. Wright and Smith held the extreme left at Cold Harbor. Burnside was on the right of Warren. Hancock held the extreme right after the withdrawal of General Wright.

By six o'clock on the afternoon of June 1st Wright and Smith were ready to assault, and carried the enemy's first line of rifle pits in their front, capturing nearly eight hundred prisoners. Simultaneously the enemy directed three assaults, one after the other, against General Warren, but all were handsomely repulsed with heavy loss. "There was no officer more capable, nor one more prompt in acting, than Warren when the enemy forced him into it," was Grant's comment on this action. Hancock and Burnside were also attacked at the same time, but only as a feint to relieve Anderson, who was being hard pushed by Wright and Smith. The enemy continued his attacks throughout the night,

but failed utterly to regain his lost position. Grant now used Old Cold Harbor as a pivot around which to swing his right, and extend his line on the left or south. Hancock during the night of the 1st was moved to the left of Wright, being directed to attack on the morning of the 2d, but the heat and dust were so great and the roads so obscure that he did not gain his position as early as was expected, and the assault was postponed until the 3d. Warren's corps had by that time moved south to connect with Smith, Hancock was on the left of Wright, and Burnside, at Bethesda Church, on Lee's left, northwest of Cold Harbor, in reserve.

Lee readjusted his lines before the attack. They then extended from the Totopotomoy to New Cold Harbor. Grant's from Bethesda Church to the Chickahominy, where Sheridan was reconnoitering with a view to securing the crossings. At half-past four on the morning of the 3d Hancock, Wright, and Smith were to assault in their fronts, and Warren and Burnside to support them by threatening Lee's left. They were themselves to assault, however, if it appeared that Lee was weakening his left to strengthen his right. Barlow's and Gibbon's divisions were selected by Hancock for the assault in his front; they rushed forward through thickets and swamps under a heavy fire of both artillery and musketry, and carried the enemy's advanced position—a deep cut in the roadway—besides capturing three guns and several hundred prisoners. Gibbon met with morasses and ravines in his front, and was only able to gain a position nearer the enemy. He, as well as Barlow, in-

trenched and held firmly the point of vantage gained. Wright's corps carried the enemy's outer rifle pits. Smith's had the warmest work of any, the ground it charged over being an open plain exposed both to a direct and enfilading fire. A ravine sufficiently deep to protect men from the cross fire and partially from the direct was in his front, and placing one division in this, with the other two on their right and left as supports, he, too, succeeded in gaining the enemy's outer rifle pits. Warren and Burnside also won nearer positions, the only result of the severe fighting being that the army slightly advanced its lines and in more regular order. Firing ceased about half-past seven in the morning. Some three hours later Grant visited all his corps commanders to inspect the positions gained, and learn if, in their opinion, a renewal of hostilities would promise success. They were not sanguine of a favorable issue, and he therefore ordered General Meade to cease all further offensive action, the army intrenching and making secure the line gained.

Grant always regretted having ordered this second assault at Cold Harbor. The advantage gained not compensating, in his opinion, for the thousands of brave men sacrificed. Soon it was reported that many wounded men were suffering and uncared for between the lines of the two armies, and on the 5th Grant wrote to Lee suggesting that thereafter, when no battle was raging, unarmed men bearing litters might be sent to any point between the picket or skirmish lines to collect the dead and wounded without molestation from either side. Lee in reply

feared that this might be misunderstood, and proposed instead a flag of truce when either party wished to remove their dead or wounded. Grant acceded to this, and on the 6th wrote that he would send out a party with a flag that day between 12 M. and 3 P. M. Lee replied that he could not consent to a removal of the dead and wounded in this way, but that a formal and specific request should be made under protection of a flag of truce. Grant then wrote asking for a suspension of hostilities until the wounded could be collected, which Lee granted; but delays in transmitting the letters brought the 7th before parties could be sent out, and then all but two of the wounded were dead.

The difficulty of conducting operations in the heavily timbered swamps of the Chickahominy, together with Lee's proximity to Richmond, led Grant to decide on still another of those brilliant flank movements by which he had carried his army almost to the confines of the Confederate capital. This movement, the most brilliant and hazardous of all, was to place his army on the south bank of the James, and effect a junction with Butler's, which, as we have seen, had been operating in that quarter with but indifferent success. The difficulties were many. He must steal away from under the intrenchments of a watchful enemy, who from previous experiences was on the alert for a movement of this character, and who, having the interior line and better roads, had every facility for checkmating it. The Chickahominy River flowed in his front, every bridge across it destroyed, the fords guarded, and its banks lined with vast swamps.

And after the Chickahominy the James, also unbridged and guarded by a watchful foe. Butler was fifty miles away. Even if Lee did not attack Grant's army while on the march, there was danger that he might rapidly transfer his forces to the south bank of the James and crush Butler before Grant could come to his aid. The latter accepted these risks, calculating rightly that Lee had suffered too severely to venture on any bold and reckless movements, and that his superiors would insist on his making the protection of Richmond his paramount object.

Grant began his movement on June 7th by sending Sheridan and his cavalry over into the valley of Virginia to find Hunter, who had been marching up the valley, and on the way thoroughly to destroy the Virginia Central Railroad, over which supplies for Lee's army had been brought from those fruitful regions. He bore instructions to Hunter to return with him, but the latter was first to capture and destroy Lynchburg and the James River Canal if possible. Hunter was also advised by way of Washington and the North that Sheridan was advancing to meet him. But before Sheridan set out—on the 7th—there came a dispatch from Hunter reporting a victory at Staunton and the death of the Confederate commander. This same day Grant, who had established a new base of supplies at City Point, on the James, began transferring thither by steamers all the re-enforcements that arrived at White House, together with the iron from the York Railroad, to be used in laying new roads.

On the 11th Grant informed Butler that the

movement to transfer the army to the James would begin after dark on the night of the 12th, that the Eighteenth Corps (Smith's), numbering some fifteen thousand men, would be sent to him by water down the Chickahominy, embarking at Cole's Landing on the morning of the 13th; that the remainder of the army would cross the Chickahominy at Long Bridge and at Jones's, and endeavor to reach the James at the most practicable crossing below City Point. Smith, he calculated, would reach Butler as quickly as Lee could by way of Richmond, and the remainder of the army would be but a day behind, unless detained by Lee's whole command, in which case Butler would be safe from attack from that quarter. Butler was to commence at once the collection of boats and other means for crossing the army on its arrival, and if a place could be found for a pontoon bridge, to have it laid. If, on the arrival of the Eighteenth Corps, he felt strong enough to seize and hold Petersburg, he was authorized to attempt its reduction, otherwise not. In a postscript, however, Grant changed the place of disembarkation of the Eighteenth Corps to White House, as it would then have to march a shorter distance, and would avoid the uncertainties of navigation on the Chickahominy.

Such in brief was Grant's plan. As to details, the Fifth Corps was to seize Long Bridge and move out on the Long Bridge Road to its junction with the Quaker Road, unless intercepted by the enemy. Of the other three corps, one was to cross at Long Bridge, the other two at Jones's Bridge. A pontoon bridge was thrown over the Chickahominy at

Long Bridge, over which, on the night and morning of the 13th, the cavalry and Warren's corps crossed without opposition, and then pushed out on the roads leading toward Richmond to watch and guard against an attack from the enemy while the army passed. Hancock followed, and by the evening of the 13th reached Charles City Court-house, near the James River, some ten miles east of City Point. The same night Burnside's and Wright's corps crossed the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge, and began their march to the James, Warren and the cavalry still protecting their right flank. Hancock, on reaching the river, found materials for a pontoon bridge at hand, which his engineers speedily placed across the river. Boats had also been provided. By making use of both, the major part of the army was transferred to the south bank of the James by the evening of the 15th. No resistance to his march had been made by Lee—in fact, that general had use of all his available force to defend Richmond and protect his lines of communication in the valley from the bold raiders of Sheridan and the victorious troops of Generals Hunter, Averill, and Crook.

The Army of the Potomac when it crossed the James numbered about one hundred and fifteen thousand men. It had received during the interim nearly forty thousand men as re-enforcements; it had lost in the battles of the Wilderness and at Cold Harbor 6,586 killed, 26,047 wounded, and 6,626 missing—an aggregate of 39,259 men. Authentic data concerning the Army of Northern Virginia is lacking, but their losses, as well as the number

of re-enforcements, are much less than those of General Meade's army.

Butler had been ordered as soon as Smith with the Eighteenth Corps reached City Point to re-enforce him and send him against Petersburg, in the hope of taking that stronghold by surprise. It was known that there were but about twenty-five hundred regular troops in its defenses. There was a reserve force of citizens and employees that could be drawn on in an emergency, but they could not be rallied in case of a sudden assault. Smith's orders were to get close up to the outer defenses under cover of night and assault as soon as possible after daybreak; but, unfortunately, he encountered the enemy intrenched on the road from City Point to Petersburg. He repulsed them, but was so delayed that it was long after sunrise before he reached Petersburg, and then, instead of attacking at once, he spent several hours reconnoitering. This was on June 15th. The night before Hancock had received orders to cross his corps over the James and march to a certain point on the road to Petersburg, and there await advices from Smith. He crossed during the night, but his rations, which had been ordered down from Bermuda Hundred, did not reach him, and, after waiting until half-past ten, he moved on without them, receiving a dispatch from Smith while *en route* begging him to come to his support. The latter had assaulted with his colored troops about seven o'clock, and carried five of the thirteen redans which comprised the enemy's strong line of defenses.

Hancock came up soon after and offered to take

any part in which he could be of service. Smith asked him to relieve his men in the trenches. Next morning, by order of his superiors, Hancock assumed command, and carried another redan; but, his old wound received at Gettysburg breaking out afresh, he was obliged to retire temporarily, and Meade took command of the field in person. The assaults continued all that day and the next, the losses on both sides being heavy. On the night of the 17th Beauregard, who commanded at Petersburg, fell back to a second line of defenses which he had constructed, and the Federals occupied his old line. The Army of the Potomac then began the long siege of Petersburg, while the Army of the James was occupied in garrisoning Bermuda Hundred and the Federal posts north of the James.

A pause in the operations of the armies about Richmond now ensued. Grant, however, found hand and brain fully occupied with affairs in his widely extended field, some of which were not in a satisfactory condition—a result caused partly by the situation, but chiefly by the interference of Halleck and Stanton at Washington. Sheridan, who, as we have seen, left Cold Harbor, June 7th, to tear up the Virginia Central Railroad and re-enforce Hunter in the valley, destroyed the road for some distance east and west of Trevilian Station, and there learning that Hunter was at Lynchburg, returned to City Point, dismantled it, and with a large wagon train rejoined the main body on the James. Hunter invested Lynchburg on the sixteenth, and would have taken it by assault without doubt had not his ammunition given out. Early's corps, how-

ever, soon re-enforced the garrison, having been detailed by Lee for that purpose, and Hunter was forced to retreat, not by the valley as he came, where he might meet an enemy whom he had no cartridges to fight, but by way of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers, and thence by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Harper's Ferry.

This left the valley open to Early, and exposed Washington to his attack. He was quick to discover this, and at once moved on the Federal capital. General Lewis Wallace then commanded the department in which Washington and the valley lay, with headquarters at Baltimore. Rickett's division of the Sixth Corps had been detached by Grant from his front and sent to Baltimore to checkmate a possible move of this character, and with this corps and a few hastily collected reserves and raw levies Wallace made a gallant stand at the Monocacy, delaying Early's advance an entire day. This gave the remainder of the Sixth Corps—which had been ordered to Washington at once by Grant on hearing of Early's raid—time to reach the city before the latter. The Nineteenth Corps also arrived from Fort Monroe about the same time under similar orders; and Early, finding a fortified camp instead of a defenseless city, retreated without making an attack, but without being pursued by the Union defenders.

Early retreated as far as Strasburg before discovering that he was not closely pursued, then turned upon Winchester, drove out Crook, who was stationed there with a small force, swept down the valley to the Potomac, and detached McCausland

to ravage the garden lands of Pennsylvania about Chambersburg, and burn that city—all of which he accomplished, but, on retiring toward Cumberland, he was met by General Kelley and driven in disorder back into Virginia. Grant now decided to force the enemy out of the valley, and to keep him out. For this important work he selected Sheridan. He had previously asked to have him assigned to this duty, but Stanton objected on the ground that he was too young. On sending forward re-enforcements to Washington on August 1st, Grant wrote Halleck that, unless Hunter took the field in person, he wished Sheridan placed in command of all the troops in the valley, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. "Wherever the enemy goes," said he, "let our troops go also." But if Hunter personally commanded, he directed that Sheridan be given command of the Sixth Corps and the cavalry.

This dispatch came under the President's notice, and he telegraphed Grant that his instructions were exactly right, but would never be carried out nor attempted to be carried out unless he watched the field every day and hour and forced it. Grant replied that he would leave City Point in two hours for Washington, but, in point of fact, passed by the city without stopping, hurrying on to the Monocacy, where he found Hunter's army encamped guarding the cars and locomotives of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which had been collected there. When asked as to the enemy's position, Hunter replied that he did not know, that he had been so confused by contradictory orders from Washington, moving

him first to the left and then to the right, that he had lost all trace of the enemy. "Well," said Grant, "I will find him," and he immediately ordered steam up and cars provided, and embarked the troops for Halltown, in the Shenandoah Valley, some four miles south of Harper's Ferry, feeling confident that Early considered possession of the valley so important that if it were threatened he would quickly concentrate in front of the attacking force, no matter what his position.

On August 5th Grant wrote detailed instructions for Hunter's guidance—to concentrate without delay every available man in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and if it appeared that the enemy had moved north in force to follow him and give battle; if with a small force, to send a detachment under a competent commander after him, and to push southward with his main force up the valley, utterly destroying all provisions, forage, and stock not wanted for his own command, since so long as an army could subsist on the country a recurrence of these periodic raids might be expected. "The object is to drive the enemy south," he concluded, "and to do this you want to keep him always in sight. Be guided in your course by the course he takes." Grant proposed to Hunter to establish his headquarters at any point in his department most convenient—Baltimore, Cumberland, or elsewhere —and to put Sheridan in command in the field. Hunter replied that he seemed to have lost the confidence of the authorities at Washington, and thought it better for him to resign. He did not wish in any way to embarrass the cause. Grant

(Ciphers)

Head Quarters Armies of the United States.

City Point Va. Aug. 1st 1864

Maj. Gen. Halleck, Washington.

I am sending Gen. Sheridan for temporary duty whilst the enemy is being expelled from the Valley. Unless Gen. Hunter is in the field in person I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field with instructions to put himself South of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy go let our troops go also. If he starts up the valley they ought to be followed until we get possession of the Va. Central Rail-road. If Gen. Hunter is in the field give Sheridan direct command of the 6th Corps and Devin's division. All the Cavalry I presume will reach Washington in the course of to-morrow.

U. S. Grant
Lt. Gen.

Jas. Grant Wilson

Facsimile of cipher dispatch to General Halleck.

accepted his resignation, and at once appointed Sheridan to the command of the department. The latter was then in Washington with the re-enforcements, and by order of Grant came on at once to the Monocacy by special train. There the two conferred, Sheridan receiving full verbal instructions as well as those on paper designed for Hunter, and then hurried on to Harper's Ferry, while Grant returned to City Point.

Sheridan had thirty thousand men, eight thousand of them cavalry. Early about the same number. All through August and the early days of September the two armies faced each other, Early on the west bank of Opequan Creek, covering Winchester, Sheridan in front of Berryville, the cavalry meeting in frequent skirmishes. Sheridan ordered no general advance, however, as a possible defeat would expose the North to invasion. To prevent Lee from re-enforcing Early, Grant, on the night of the 13th and 14th of August, ordered Hancock to threaten Richmond from the north side of the James, a feint which had the desired effect. Sherman also at this time wrote for re-enforcements, and asked that care be taken that no troops from Richmond be sent against him. He was about investing Atlanta. Grant sent him some of the raw levies from the Northwest, and at the same time pointed out to him that his real danger lay in Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, who might elude Steele, at any time cross the Mississippi, and re-enforce Johnston. As a checkmate, Grant directed that an expedition against Mobile should be set on foot from New Orleans, the

moment such a movement was attempted, and so informed General Sherman. An organized plan to resist the draft in the North was also reported at this time.

While Lee was concentrated on the north side of the James to resist any advance from that quarter, Warren with the Fifth Corps was sent against the Weldon Railroad on the south, over which General Lee's supplies were transported. General Warren captured this important feeder and fortified his position, and, although Lee made desperate efforts to recapture it, he was repulsed with heavy loss. Nor did he again secure control of this artery. On the 12th Grant learned that Lee had sent heavy re-enforcements to Early, who had been pushed back as far as Strasburg by Sheridan, and at once forwarded the news by telegraph and courier to the latter. Grant himself followed on the 15th, intending to see for himself how matters stood in the valley, and to order Sheridan to assume the offensive. He knew that if he sent such an order it would be intercepted in Washington, both Halleck and Stanton being too anxious for the safety of the capital to hazard a battle except with overwhelming odds.

Grant met Sheridan by appointment at Charlestown, and there the young commander so demonstrated his ability to defeat Early, and was so confident of success, that he was left to carry on the campaign according to his own plans, Grant leaving him on Friday with the understanding that he should attack on the following Monday. Sheridan did attack on that day at the crossing of Opequan Creek, and gained an overwhelming victory—

one not the least valuable from its moral effect upon the country. Grant ordered his artillerists to fire a hundred guns at the enemy in honor of it, and directed that similar salutes should be fired by the other commanders. Sheridan pursued and laid waste the upper valley, then retired, not believing that Lee would send another invading force thither, as it would have to transport its supplies in wagons.

But in this case the unexpected happened. So necessary to the Confederacy was the fruitful valley deemed that re-enforcements were quickly sent to Early, and he was instructed to make one supreme effort to regain control of it. Sheridan retreated, Early following. On the 15th of October Sheridan, having been summoned to Washington, left his army in command of Wright, and set out for the capital. The next morning, at Front Royal, he received a dispatch from Wright saying that a letter from Longstreet to Early had been intercepted ordering the latter to be ready to move as soon as he (Longstreet) should effect a junction with him. This was the first intimation of re-enforcements that the Union generals had received. Sheridan at once ordered his cavalry up to join Wright, and continued on to Washington, transacted his business there, and reached Winchester on his return on the night of the 18th.

The next morning Sheridan set out to rejoin his command, but was met just outside the town by the news that the night before Early had succeeded in placing his troops in the rear of the Federal left flank, which thereupon had broken and fled down the valley, losing a thousand prisoners

and eighteen guns; that the right, under General Getty, had maintained a firm front, and had retired in good order to Middletown, where it then lay; also, that Wright had ordered a retreat of the whole army to Winchester. Even while reading the dispatch the panic-stricken fugitives began straggling by. Sheridan at once ordered the cavalry to deploy across the valley, thus checking their flight, then started at full gallop toward the battlefield. "Boys," cried he to the retreating troops, swinging his hat, "if I'd been here this shouldn't have happened. Face about! We're going back! We're going to have those guns! We're going to lick them out of their boots!"

Then was seen the finest example of the potency of one man's appearance on the battlefield in American military history. It may be doubted if the presence of any other American commander could have so suddenly changed defeat into victory as Sheridan's arrival on the field. The shattered ranks faced about and reformed. To their surprise no enemy appeared; they had been pursued by shadows. Confidence came back, and with it a noble emulation to retrieve the day. Quickly an army ready for battle was marching toward the enemy. Meantime Sheridan had reached the front and found Getty and Custer boldly confronting the Confederates and protecting the rear. Sheridan ordered the rallied troops to make a stand, intrenched, and awaited an attack, which was quickly made. Early assaulted with vigor, but was repulsed with such loss that he withdrew and began himself to intrench, with a view to holding the posi-

tion gained, not having the slightest suspicion that the army which he had routed that morning would itself take the initiative. But he did not know that Sheridan had returned to the field. About mid-afternoon Sheridan sent his cavalry to the enemy's rear by both flanks, and then, attacking in front and rear, gained a complete victory, retaking the guns lost in the morning, and capturing twenty-four pieces of artillery in addition. This signal victory prevented any further attempt by Lee to invade the North by way of the valley, and Sheridan's army was soon largely broken up, the Sixth Corps being returned to the Army of the Potomac, one division to the Army of the James, the other to garrison Savannah, which about this time was captured by Sherman after his march from Atlanta.

On the morning of July 30th a mine was exploded under the enemy's defenses before Petersburg, and which formed a crater some twenty feet deep and nearly a hundred in length. Simultaneously an assault was made through the breach; but this proved a conspicuous failure, owing to the inefficiency of the division commanders, to whom it had been intrusted. Ledlie's division went into the crater, and might have captured the works had it possessed a leader, but its commander housed himself at a safe place in the rear, and the division, having no orders to advance farther, remained in the crater until the enemy, recovering from his panic, reappeared in the breastworks and took nearly all prisoners who had not been killed.

In a letter written to Admiral Ammen a few days after this unfortunate *fiasco*, Grant says: "Sev-

eral times we have had decisive victories within our grasp, but let them, through accident or fault, slip through our hands. Our movement from Cold Harbor to the south side of the James was made with such celerity that before the enemy got a single regiment across the river our forces had carried the fortifications east of Petersburg. There was nothing, not even a military force, to prevent our walking in and taking possession. The officer charged with this work, for some unaccountable reason, stopped at the works he had captured, and gave the enemy time to get in a garrison and intrench it. On the 30th of July, again, by a feint north of the James, we drew most of the enemy on that side of the river, and whilst he was there (with my troops quietly withdrawing during the night) a mine, judiciously prepared, was exploded, burying a battery and some three hundred of the enemy, and making a breach in his works into which our men marched without opposition. The enemy was completely surprised, and commenced running in all directions. There was nothing to prevent our men from marching directly to the high ground in front of them, to which they had been directed to go. Once there, all the enemy's fortifications would have been taken in reverse, and no stand could have been made. It is clear that without a loss of five hundred men we could have had Petersburg, with all its artillery and many of its garrison. But our troops stopped in the crater made by the explosion. The enemy was given time to rally and reoccupy his line. Then we found, true enough, that we had the wolf by the ears. He was hard to hold and more dangerous to

(Ciphers) 9 pm,

Head Quarters Armies of the United States,

City Point Va. Sept. 4th 1864.

Maj. Gen. Sherman, Atlanta Ga.

I have just received your dispatch announcing the capture of Atlanta. In honor of your great victory I have ordered a salute to be fired with shotted guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy. The salute will be fired within an hour amidst great rejoicing.

U. S. Grant

Lt. Gen.

Facsimile of cipher dispatch to General Sherman.

let go. This was so outrageous that I shall have a court of inquiry to sift the matter."

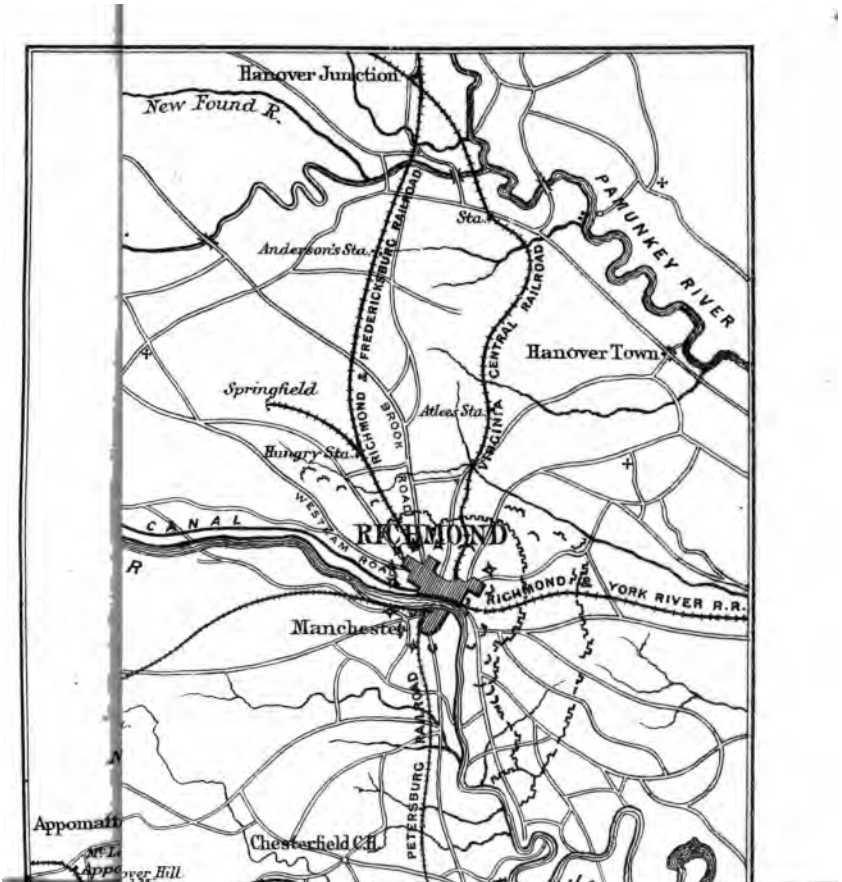
It is not within the province of this work to detail minutely operations of the army around Richmond up to the fall of the capital in the spring of 1865. Sherman, having divided the Confederacy by his march from Atlanta to Savannah, next proceeded to quarter it by moving his army from Savannah to Richmond. Meade was to hold Lee as in a vise at Petersburg and Richmond; Thomas in East Tennessee and Hancock in the Shenandoah Valley with a large army of reserves were to cooperate in an attack from the west, thus hemming Lee in on every side, and rendering his surrender inevitable. This was the plan of campaign for the spring of 1865. How admirably it was carried out is a matter of history. By a series of skillful manœuvers and fierce assaults, Petersburg was taken on the morning of April 3d, with twelve thousand prisoners and fifty pieces of artillery, the remainder of the defenders succeeding in making their escape.

Grant foresaw that Richmond must now be evacuated and at once, Lee's right at Petersburg being entirely turned and his Southern communications threatened; he also foresaw that he would attempt to escape by the Richmond and Danville Railroad, the only railway open to him. All his efforts, therefore, were bent to getting possession of that railroad before Lee should begin his retrograde movement. At the point where the Richmond and Danville crossed the Appomattox River, southwest of Richmond, the latter stream and the James are but a few miles apart, and, by placing his

forces there and marching a few miles north and east, Grant could hem Lee in if in Richmond between the two rivers, and capture not only the capital, but his army. The latter, however, had no intention of remaining in Richmond until his adversary's lines enfolded him like a rat.

On Sunday, April 2d, when most of the defenses of Petersburg had been taken, and it became evident that it must fall, Lee advised the Confederate President that Richmond must be evacuated; whereupon the government hastily evacuated the capital, not staying even to remove the archives. The same night Lee ordered all his troops to concentrate at Amelia Courthouse, on the Danville Railroad, south of the Appomattox, intending to effect a junction with Johnston and fall upon Sherman, who was still at Goldsboro, N. C. On learning this, Grant ordered Sheridan to place his cavalry on the south side of the Appomattox, *via* the Danville Railroad, as quickly as possible, and at the same time directed Meade to move to the same point the following morning. The Army of the James marched by the wagon road beside the Southside Railway, south of the Appomattox, as far as Burke's Station, where it intersects the Richmond and Danville Railway and also crosses the Appomattox River.

The morning after the capture of Petersburg Grant invited President Lincoln—who had been for some days at City Point—to come to Petersburg and confer with him. The President did so. The two great men met on the piazza of a deserted house, attended only by the general's staff and a


Hanover Junction
New Found R.
Anderson's Sta.
Sta.
PAMUNKEY RIVER
RICHMOND & FREDERICKSBURG RAILROAD
CENTRAL RAILROAD
VIRGINIA
Hanover Town
Springfield
Atlees Sta.
Hungry Sta.
BROOK ROAD
WESTHAM ROAD
CANAL
RICHMOND
RICHMOND & YORK RIVER R.R.
Manchester
PETERSBURG RAILROAD
Chesterfield C.H.

small escort of cavalry, and conversed long and earnestly as to the conduct of the campaign, Grant explaining very clearly and at length his plans and objects. The President listened attentively, and assented to all that was said. When the interview closed, Lincoln mounted the general's superb blood bay war horse Cincinnati, and galloped back to City Point, while Grant and his staff set out to rejoin the army, which during the interim had been rapidly marching toward its objective. While on the road and shortly after leaving the President, Grant received a dispatch from General Godfrey Weitzel advising him that he had entered Richmond with his troops at quarter past eight o'clock that morning—the 3d—and had found the city on fire in several places, and much confusion and distress among the people.

Without turning aside to enter the conquered capital, Grant pressed on after his advancing army, the rear of which he soon overtook at Sutherland Station, nine miles out, it having halted to allow the roads in front, which were blocked by the wagon trains of the advance corps, to be cleared. General Wright, commanding the corps, had decided to bivouac there for the night, get up some rations for his men—who had had nothing to eat since setting out soon after daybreak—and then march very early next morning, by which time he hoped the roads in front would be cleared. Humphreys, who had the advance, was also out of rations, and the men went supperless to bivouac. Nor could he obtain any during the night. But so eager were the soldiers to surround and capture the army with

which they had been contending for four years that they asked to be led against the enemy though without rations.

At three o'clock, therefore, next morning the march was resumed. At this time—the morning of the 4th—Grant learned that Lee had ordered rations for his army from Danville to meet him at Farmville, which is nearly west of Amelia Court-house, on another line of road. This proved to Grant's mind that he had become alarmed by his prompt movements south of the Appomattox, and, leaving the Danville road, would attempt to escape by a route farther west. Grant at once ordered Sheridan to seize the latter road before the supplies could be passed over it, to which the latter replied that he had already sent Crook to seize it between Burkesville and Jetersville, then march north to the latter place, and that he must be in possession by that time. Grant at once ordered a forced march of the Army of the Potomac to Jetersville, which arrived there on the 5th. Ord also reached Burkesville, some ten miles below on the Danville Road, the same evening.

Grant now wrote to Sherman that Lee was attempting to escape by way of Danville with a remnant of his force—not exceeding twenty-five thousand men—much demoralized, that he would probably make a stand at Danville, and ordered the latter to push on to Greensboro, or even nearer Danville, if he thought proper, and see if they could not finish both Lee's and Johnston's armies at a blow. "Rebel armies are now the only strategic points to aim at," the latter concluded. Next morning—the

6th—it was found that Lee was moving west of Jetersville toward Farmville, and the army was ordered in rapid pursuit. Sheridan and his cavalry, followed by his Sixth Corps, moved to strike Lee's flank, while the Second and Fifth Corps pursued in his rear, pressing him so closely that he abandoned several hundred wagons and some artillery. Ord also advanced from Burkesville along the railroad toward Farmville, first sending in advance a scouting party of six hundred men to destroy the bridges over which Lee must pass. The order was admirably executed, but the detachment returning came suddenly upon the head of Lee's column near Farmville. Nothing daunted, the six hundred charged it repeatedly until its commander, Colonel Read, and nearly every commissioned officer was killed or wounded, and the survivors overpowered. The enemy, thinking a larger force behind, stopped to intrench—a delay that enabled Ord to come up and largely aided in Lee's subsequent capture.

The same afternoon Sheridan had a sharp engagement with the enemy on Sailor's Creek, a small affluent of the Appomattox flowing in from the south between Jetersville and Farmville, and detained him until the Sixth Corps could be brought forward, when a general engagement followed, resulting in a loss to the enemy of sixteen pieces of artillery and between six and seven thousand prisoners. Next morning the pursuit was continued with vigor, the cavalry and the Fifth Corps moving toward Prince Edwards Courthouse, due south of Farmville, the Sixth Corps, Ord's command, and a division of cavalry directly on Farmville, and the

Second Corps to secure the High Bridge over the Appomattox. Sheridan quickly learned that Lee had crossed to the north side of the river, but so closely was he pursued that the Second Corps secured the High Bridge before the enemy could burn it, and by it gained the north side, while the Sixth Corps crossed at Farmville, farther west.

Lee was now hemmed in, his foes occupying all the roads leading south by which he might hope to escape. Desirous of avoiding further sacrifice of brave men, Grant on the 7th addressed a letter to him referring to the hopelessness of his cause, and asking the surrender of his army in order to stop further effusion of blood. Lee replied the same day, not admitting his cause to be desperate, but asking what terms he would be allowed on condition of surrender. Grant replied on the 8th, naming his terms—viz., " men and officers to be disqualified for taking up arms against the United States until properly exchanged." Without waiting for a reply, the pursuit was renewed vigorously, Meade marching north of the Appomattox and Sheridan south of it, aiming for Appomattox Station, on the Southside Railroad, southwest of Farmville. He reached this station late in the evening, drove back the guard, and captured a hospital train, twenty-five guns, and four train loads of supplies for Lee's army. This removed Lee's last resource.

Grant, who had marched with Meade's column that day, received a note from Lee at midnight, saying that he could not meet him with a view to surrendering the Army of Northern Virginia, but that, as far as his proposition affected the forces

under his command, and would tend to the restoration of peace, he would be pleased to meet him on the old stage road to Richmond at 10 A. M. on the 9th, between the picket lines of the two armies. Grant replied that he had no authority to treat of peace, and pointed out that the South could at any time restore peace by simply laying down her arms, and at once set out to join the column at Appomattox Station. On this morning of the 9th the enemy made a last desperate effort to break through the lines of the cavalry at Appomattox, but Ord's command and the Fifth Corps reached the station at the critical moment, and the attempt failed.

A white flag was then sent to the Union line, with a message requesting a suspension of hostilities preceding negotiations for a surrender. Grant about the same time, while on his way to Appomattox, received a note from Lee asking for an interview to ascertain definitely what terms could be obtained for the surrender of his army. This interview was granted, and was held at Appomattox in the house of Wilmer McLean, Colonel Charles Marshall, of Lee's staff, and Grant's staff being the only other persons present. The two generals shook hands on meeting; neither spoke of the war, but talked of the old army life in Mexico, where, as we have seen, Lee had served as chief of staff to General Scott and head of the engineer corps, and Grant as lieutenant and quartermaster. Each remembered the other, and conversed as pleasantly as though they had not recently been pitted against one another in the most stupendous battles of modern times. Lee, clad in a new uniform, with a

superb sword, introduced at length the subject of the surrender. Grant, wearing a soldier's blouse, without a sword, and with only his shoulder straps to indicate his rank, sat down and wrote out the terms of surrender—substantially the same as those given in his letter of the 8th, but allowing the officers to retain their side arms, horses, and baggage. General Lee, on reading it, remarked that in his army many of the artillerists and cavalrymen owned their own horses, and asked if the provision concerning the officers' horses would apply to them. "No," said Grant, "it will not as it is written; but, as I think this will be the last battle of the war, and as I suppose most of the men in the ranks are small farmers, who without these horses would find it difficult to put in their crops, the country having been swept of everything movable, and as the United States does not want them, I will instruct the officers who are to receive the paroles of your troops to let every man who claims to own a horse or mule take the animal to his home."

Lee remarked that this would have a happy effect, and then wrote out his formal letter of acceptance.* As he was about taking leave, he remarked

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* HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S., 5 P. M., *April* 7, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, *Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

The result of last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate Southern Army, known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant General.*

that his men had subsisted for some days on parched corn only, and that he would have to ask for rations

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The above was written and sent out from Farmville. Gen. Seth Williams, A. A. G., was the messenger accompanied by his orderly. The flag of truce was fired upon. The orderly deserted, but Williams went through, narrowly escaping being shot. No apology was made for this violation of the flag, Williams, I believe, making no formal complaint on account of its being near dark, and the enemy not having distinguished the flag.

April 7, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your note of this day. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore before considering your proposition ask the terms you will offer on condition of the surrender. R. E. LEE, *General.*

Lieutenant General U. S. GRANT,
Commanding Armies of the U. S.

April 8, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, *Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

Your note of last evening in reply to mine of the same date asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia is just received. In reply I would say that peace being my first desire there is but one condition that I insist upon, viz.: That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the purpose at any point agreeable to you for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received. U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant General.*

The above was written at Farmville and sent to Lee wherever he could be found. It was written early in the morning at the Farmville Hotel (where we had stayed) before resuming our march for the day.

April 8, 1865.

GENERAL: I received at a late hour your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday. I did not intend to propose the

and forage. "Certainly," replied Grant; "for how many men do you require them?" "About twenty-

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surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender. But as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end. I can not therefore meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia; but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A. M. to-morrow on the old stage road to Richmond between the picket lines of the two armies. R. E. LEE, *Genl. C. S. A.*

Lieut. Gen. U. S. GRANT, *Comdg. Armies of the U. S.*

Received late at night at Meade's headquarters in rear of Lee's army, and I should judge about six or eight miles east from Appomattox Courthouse, i. e., in a direct line, or by the nearest road. Grant and Rawlins both remarked that Lee was very obstinate, and that upon his shoulders must rest the consequences of continued resistance.

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE:

GENERAL—Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, general, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundred of millions of property not yet destroyed. Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc. U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant General.*

The above was written after midnight where the previous note was received, and sent with no expectation that General Lee would again answer.

five thousand," Lee replied; whereupon Grant authorized him to send his own commissary and quar-

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April 9, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your note of this morning on the picket line whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose. R. E. LEE, *General.*

Lieutenant General U. S. GRANT, *Commanding U. S. Armies.*

Received on the road in a pine grove. The staff cheered when the general told us the contents of the note. I should judge we were seven or eight miles from Appomattox Courthouse.

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, *Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A. M.) received—in consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road. I am at this writing about four miles west of Walker's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you. Notice, sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place, will meet me.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant General.*

Sent to General Lee by Col. O. E. Babcock, who was instructed to fine Lee and arrange for the interview. The general and staff followed as expeditiously as possible, but unfortunately were misled as to Sheridan's headquarters and narrowly escaped being captured, striking about a mile east of the Courthouse. We proceeded across country and found Sheridan about half a mile west of the Courthouse. After several minutes spent in conversation, Grant and Sheridan with their staffs proceeded to McLean's house, where Lee was waiting.

APPOMATTOX C. H., VIRGINIA, *April* 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, *Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

GENERAL—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the

termaster to Appomattox Station and take from the captured trains there all the provisions needed.

Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms—to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer as you may designate. The officers to give their individual parole not to take arms against the United States until properly exchanged and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their command. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside. U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant General.*

Written by General Grant in the manifold order book and copied by E. S. Parker.

HDQRS. ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *April* 9, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect. R. E. LEE, *General.*

Lieutenant General U. S. GRANT.

Lee had no paper on which to write his acceptance and Marshall asked me for paper. I could only give him note paper, all my other paper being officially headed, and on this Lee's acceptance was written. General Lee said that our soldiers had burned his trains with his papers and baggage. When the generals met it must have been between half past two and three o'clock. They parted, I think, before three and met again about nine or ten the next morning, just east of the Courthouse. E. A. Pollard says about half past three Lee was seen riding back to his headquarters from the interview and all knew that the surrender was completed. The interview took place at the house of Wilmer McLean. Lee

Appomattox C.H. Va.
Apl. 9th 1865-

Gen. R. E. Lee.
Comdg C.S.A.

Gen

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst- I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of N. Va on the following terms. to wit

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate one copy to be given to an officer designated by me. the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to sign their individual paroles not to take up arms against the

Facsimile of Grant's terms to Lee

Government of the United States, until properly exchanged and each company or regimental commander ~~officer~~ sign a like parole for the men of their ~~man~~ commands.

The Arms, Artillery and public property to be parked and stacked and turned over to the officer appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their ~~this~~ private horses or baggage. This done each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes not to be disturbed by United States Authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully
U. S. Grant Lt. Gen.

and his army at Appomattox.

General Lee's surrender practically ended the war of the rebellion. On April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms as those accorded Lee, and soon after organized resistance to the Federal Government by the Confederacy ceased. Mobile fell on April 11th. General Richard Taylor surrendered all the Confederate forces east of the Mississippi to General Canby on May 4th, and on the 26th the only remaining army of the Confederacy was surrendered to Canby by its commander, General Kirby Smith. The war of the

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was attended only by Colonel Marshall, one of his aids. General Lee's demeanor "was that of a thoroughly possessed gentleman who had a very disagreeable duty to perform, but was determined to get through it as well, and as soon, as he could."

The foregoing memorandum was made at the time by Col. Ely S. Parker (1828–'95), a favorite member of Grant's staff. He was an Iroquois chief and had known the general in Galena before the war. The last order issued by General Lee was sent out after his surrender. It was dictated by General Grant to Colonel Parker, and was reissued by Lee as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *April* 10, 1865.

The following order is published for the information of all concerned.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
IN THE FIELD, *April* 10, 1865.

SPECIAL ORDER NO. —

All officers and men of the Confederate service paroled at Appomattox Courthouse, who to reach their homes are compelled to pass through the lines of the Union armies, will be allowed to do so, and to pass free on all Government transports and military railroads.

By command Lieut.-General Grant. ELY S. PARKER,
Lieut. Col. and Assistant Adjutant General.

By command of General R. E. Lee.
CHARLES S. VENABLE, *Assistant Adjutant General.*

rebellion was declared to be ended by President Johnson's proclamation of April 2, 1866, except as to Texas.

Grant with his staff proceeded to Burkesville, to which point the Southside Railroad had been put in operation; there took the train and journeyed to Washington *via* City Point, and thence on a dispatch boat down the James and up the Potomac. In Washington he was joined by Mrs. Grant, and, after spending several days countermanding orders for supplies and re-enforcements, and communicating with his generals in distant departments, he left the city with his wife, intending to visit his children, who had been for some time at school in Burlington, N. J. It was the evening of April 14th. During the day he had received an invitation from President and Mrs. Lincoln to join their party at Ford's Theater that evening, but declined at the request of his wife. On reaching Philadelphia he was met by a request to return instantly to Washington, as President Lincoln had been assassinated in his box at the theater. An attempt had also been made upon the life of Secretary Seward, and probably upon that of Vice-President Johnson. Grant hastened back to Washington by a special train, only to find the city he had left jubilant with victory plunged into the deepest woe, with flags at half mast, crape upon public buildings as well as private residences, and bells tolling for the passing from earth of a great soul. As it was in Washington, so it was throughout the country. What would have been the result had Grant accepted the President's invitation and accompanied him to the

theater that night is purely a matter of speculation.

Having closed his campaigns, Grant quietly returned to Washington without entering or even having seen the capital which his genius had captured, and devoted himself to mustering out the armies and to the other multitudinous details of his position, and also to the preparation of an admirable report of the operations of all the armies from the time of his assuming command. Before closing his military career, the modest commander became the central figure of a pageant the most brilliant and significant in American military annals. General Sherman with his army arrived near Washington early in May, and before disbanding the troops it was decided to have them pass in a grand review before the President and his Cabinet and the general in chief.

The review took place on May 24th and 25th, the first day being devoted to the Army of the Potomac, the second to the Army of the West. The troops formed behind the Capitol, and marched along Pennsylvania Avenue, around the Treasury Building, and past the reviewing party, which took position on stands erected opposite the White House. Infantry, cavalry, artillery took part in the wonderful parade, and the ovation the veterans received from the multitudes along the entire line of march was but a just tribute to their patriotism, sufferings, and achievements. In the words of Sir Walter Scott,

> 'Twere ten years of peaceful life,
> One glance at their array.

General Grant wrote of this military display: "The sight was varied and grand. Nearly all day, for two successive days, from the Capitol to the Treasury Building, could be seen a mass of orderly soldiers marching in columns of companies. The national flag was flying from almost every house and store; the windows were filled with spectators; the doorsteps and sidewalks were crowded with colored people and poor whites who did not succeed in securing better quarters from which to obtain a view of the grand armies. The city was about as full of strangers who had come to see the sights as it usually is on inauguration day when a new President takes his seat."

Meade led the Army of the Potomac and Sherman the army whose drums had been heard in seven Southern States, yet the central figure in men's minds was no doubt the great soldier on the reviewing stand, whom both Sherman and Meade with their armies saluted as they passed before him. In answer to the author's inquiry, Grant said that the Washington review of the two armies had, as indicating the conclusion of the civil contest, afforded him perhaps more pleasure than any event connected with the war. A few days later General Grant issued the following address to all the armies which were about to be disbanded.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES:

By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and Constitu-

tion, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws, and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution, and brilliancy of results, dim the luster of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defense of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call you left your homes and families, and volunteered in its defense. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROMOTION AND THE PRESIDENCY.

DURING the years 1865–'66 General Grant made several tours of inspection and pleasure to the Canadas, to the South, and to the West. At New York tens of thousands crowded to the City Hall to see and shake hands with the renowned soldier, and, when he accompanied the President in his Western tour to take part in the inauguration of the monument to Stephen A. Douglas at Chicago, the thousands who were assembled at every railway station to welcome the distinguished party were always loudest in their cheers for Grant. At the Sanitary Fair, held in the latter city, the expectation of seeing him had filled densely the immense building, and when the hurrahs which greeted Grant as he entered, leaning on the arm of General Hooker, had subsided, he stepped forward and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, as I never make a speech myself, I will ask Governor Yates to return the thanks I should fail to express." The Governor, later a member of the United States Senate, then delivered an eloquent address, closing with these words: "I am here to-day to say that the proudest reflec-

tion that thrills the heart of this brave soldier and general is that we have gloriously triumphed. That our nation is preserved, that our Government has been maintained, and that we have our free institutions for us and our posterity forever."

Among the many ovations which Grant received, perhaps there was none more grateful to him than that extended by the citizens of Galena, his old Illinois home. There were arches decorated with the long scroll of his victories, and over the street where he lived and the sidewalk which he had calumniated was the motto, "General, the sidewalk is built." The fond thought which had prompted such an expression of his ambition—to be mayor of Galena and repair the sidewalk—thus treasured up by his old friends and fellow-citizens, touched him very deeply. In the course of his journey in the West, General Grant stopped for a day at Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, where he spent his boyhood. The people came from all quarters to see the illustrious soldier, and he was constrained to make the following speech—the longest with the single exception of his Washington speech that he was ever known to deliver: "Ladies and gentlemen of Brown County: You are all aware that I am not in the habit of making speeches. I am glad that I never learned to make speeches when I was young, and now that I am old I have no desire to begin. I had rather start out in anything else than in making a speech. And now, ladies and gentlemen, I can only say to you that it affords me very much pleasure to get back to Brown County, where my boyhood was spent."

Another visit that afforded Grant undisguised satisfaction was that made to his *Alma Mater* in June, 1865. At this time occurred that touching interview between himself and General Winfield Scott, a feature of which was the gift of a copy of the latter's recently published Memoirs, with the inscription "From the oldest to the greatest general." Scott was not perhaps aware how closely he was treading in the path of Frederick the Great, who sent Washington a sword with the inscription, "From the oldest general in the world to the greatest." Like the Prussian king, he committed a *lapsus pennoe* by writing himself the oldest living general. There were several general officers of greater age living when both presentations were made. Marshal Combermere, among others, whose designation points to the highest rank in the British army, having been born in 1769, and who was consequently seventeen years the senior of Scott, was then living. Just a year later, and the remains of the old hero of nearly four score, who had been a prominent actor in almost all that is glorious in the military annals of our country from the commencement of the war of 1812 to the beginning of the late rebellion, were laid in the grave at West Point in the presence of Grant and Farragut and a numerous assemblage of the most illustrious men of our time.

Gifts from the nation, from corporations, from individuals were heaped upon him. Congress voted him a gold medal, which was executed at Geneva by Bovy, one of a celebrated family of French artists. Numerous swords were presented to him, many of which are preserved in the department of

Grant relics in the National Museum at Washington. One of these, the gift of the citizens of Jo Daviess County, Illinois, contains the names of his battles and sieges—thirty-two in all.

Among other gifts presented to General Grant, may be mentioned a house and furniture, valued at thirty thousand dollars, by citizens of Philadelphia; a house completely furnished, worth half that amount, a present from his old Galena friends and former neighbors; horses valued at ten thousand dollars; a handsome library, which cost five thousand dollars, the gift of a few Boston gentlemen; and the munificent sum of one hundred thousand dollars in cash with which to purchase a home, presented by citizens of New York. Among the shower of honors that were heaped upon the successful soldier was the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard University and other institutions of learning.

Congress having, in July, 1866, created the grade of general, the President immediately advanced Lieutenant-General Grant to that exalted position—one which never before existed under our Government. Washington was general of the Continental army and under the Confederation; but in the United States army he was only lieutenant general. The vacancy created by Grant's promotion to the new grade was now filled by the appointment of Major-General W. T. Sherman. After the general's two terms of the presidency it was proposed to create the grade of field marshal for Grant, but the plan not being favorably received in some military quarters, the scheme was abandoned by its promoter, President Hayes.

When, in 1867, President Johnson removed Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, General Grant was appointed Secretary *ad interim*, a phrase now famous in our political history. Although, as general in chief, he had all the departments under his charge, some of which caused him much anxiety and trouble, yet his administration of the War Department was perfect. Almost immediately after entering upon the duties of his new office, he began the work of retrenchment and cut down the expenses of the department several millions of dollars. His report at the opening of Congress was a clear, statesmanlike document, and it is a singular fact that amid the bitter party feeling that prevailed at Washington when it was made, and when it seemed impossible that any report concerning the condition and wants of the South could be written, or that he should act as Secretary without being the subject of abuse; Grant should, so free was he from all party bias, so sincere and apparent his desire for truth, so simple and straightforward his course, have utterly disarmed all party rancor. In the midst of widespread venality and corruption, no man ever doubted his honesty, though he had almost unlimited control over millions of the public money. His administration as general in chief of the army, and as Secretary of War *ad interim*, was not only marked by eminent ability, but distinguished for retrenchment and economy. The President—no partial witness—in his message of December, 1867, to the Senate, said that "salutary reforms have been introduced by the Secretary *ad interim*, and great reductions of expenses have been

effected under his administration of the War Department, to the saving of millions to the Treasury."

When the Senate of the United States, on assembling in December, 1867, refused to sanction the removal of Mr. Stanton, Grant at once vacated the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*, deeming it his bounden duty, in accordance with his convictions, upon a close examination of the Tenure of Office Bill, to obey the law whether constitutional or not, as it was binding upon him until set aside by the proper tribunal.

General Grant's action in the premises led to a long correspondence between him and the President, in the course of which they took diametrically opposite grounds in relation to certain occurrences that took place in a Cabinet meeting, when the question of Stanton's reinstatement by the Senate was discussed. Grant, after replying to other points in one of the President's communications, says, that for him to have continued to retain possession of the office would have been in violation of law, and subjected him to fine and perhaps imprisonment, concludes: "When my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility, and then to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in the conclusion by your recent order from the Secretary of War, my superior and your subordinate."

On Wednesday, May 20th, the National Repub-

lican Convention met at Chicago for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. On Thursday General Logan arose, the nominations being in order, and said: "In the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers, and sailors of this great republic of the United States of America—in the name of loyalty, liberty, and justice—in the name of the National Union Republican party, I nominate as candidate for the chief magistracy of this nation Ulysses S. Grant." Great enthusiasm prevailed on the nomination being made, and it was carried by acclamation, every vote in the convention being given for the soldier and patriot. On receiving the official notice of his nomination, General Grant wrote the following letter of acceptance to the president of the Republican Convention, dated Washington, D. C., May 29, 1868:

In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed. The proceedings of the convention were marked with wisdom, moderation, and patriotism, and I believe express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I indorse the resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere. In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong,

through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I have always respected that will, and always shall. Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

Six months later he was chosen by the almost universal voice of the American people to the highest position in their gift—a position than which there is none higher. Upon entering on his new office, he resigned his commission as general in the army. Sherman was immediately promoted to the place vacated by Grant, and Sheridan became lieutenant general. Each of the great wars of the United States have given Presidents to the country. Beginning with that of 1776, we have Washington, followed by that of 1812, which gave us Jackson and Harrison. The war with Mexico made Taylor President in lieu of Scott, the real hero, who was personally unpopular, while the recent conflict between freedom and slavery elevated Grant to the presidency—the fifth soldier elected to the position of Chief Magistrate, and, except Washington and Jackson, the only one re-elected for a second term of four years. Hayes, Garfield, and McKinley were also doubtless chiefly indebted to their war records for their elevation to the presidency.

At the twenty-first election for President and Vice-President the Democratic competitors of U. S.

Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri. Grant and Colfax carried twenty-six States and received two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, against eighty for Seymour and Blair. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas did not vote.* Grant was inaugurated eighteenth President March 4, 1869, and in his inaugural address announced that it would be the general policy of his administration to secure peace, prosperity, and harmony throughout the entire Union as far as it were possible: first, by strict integrity in fulfilling all our obligations; second, by securing protection to the person and property of each citizen of the United States in every portion of our common country, wherever he may choose to move, without reference to original nationality, religion, color, or politics, demanding of him only obedience to the law and proper respect for the rights of others; and third, by cementing all the States into an indestructible Union, with equal State rights and constitutional guarantees. At that time three of the States lately in rebellion had not been restored to their Federal relations.

On the next day the President sent to the Senate the following nominations for Cabinet officers: Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania,

* The popular vote was for President, Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois, 3,013,188; for Horatio Seymour, New York, 2,703,600.

Secretary of the Navy; John M. Schofield, of Illinois, Secretary of War; John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, Postmaster General; and E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. These nominations were at once confirmed, but it was discoverd by the politicians who were opposed to him that Mr. Stewart was disqualified by an act of 1789, which provided that no person should hold the office of Secretary of the Treasury who was "directly or indirectly concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce." The President, in a brief message, thereupon suggested to Congress that Mr. Stewart be exempted by joint resolution from the action of the law, he being willing to surrender his great business to meet the legal objections. This being opposed by the politicians, Stewart declined the office, and George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. Grant regretted losing the services of Mr. Stewart, who would, as he said to an intimate friend, "have saved the Government a million a year."

Soon afterward Mr. Washburne gave up the office of Secretary of State, being appointed Minister to France, and was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. The writer happened to be with Mr. Fish in his library when he telegraphed a declination of the office, and was also with him when the late General Babcock arrived a day or two later with a long autograph letter from Grant, renewing the offer and urging its acceptance. General Schofield next retired, and was succeeded as Secretary of War by John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, who died in September, when the vacancy was filled by Wil-

liam W. Belknap, of Iowa. Mr. Borie resigned in June, and was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey. Mr. Hoar resigned in July, 1870, and was succeeded by Amos J. Akerman, of Georgia, who resigned in December, 1871, and his place was filled by George H. Williams, of Oregon. Mr. Cox resigned in November, 1870, and was succeeded by Columbus Delano, of Ohio.

As the President was in political harmony with the majority of Congress, the reconstruction of the lately rebellious States, which had been delayed by the lack of such harmony during the previous administration, now progressed rapidly. On May 19th the President announced by proclamation that the eight-hour law, having been passed by Congress, would thereafter be in force without reduction of wages for all workmen and mechanics employed by the United States. In June, 1870, the Senate rejected the Santo Domingo Treaty, which had been advocated and urged by the President. In February, 1871, the difficulties with England, growing out of the "Alabama Claims" and other differences, were brought before a "Joint High Commission" at Washington, consisting of five American and five British members. The so-called Alabama Claims were submitted to a Court of Arbitration to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, which, on September 14, 1872, awarded the sum of $15,500,000 in gold to be paid by England for damages to American commerce by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports.

The important question of a definite Northwestern boundary, which had not been satisfactorily

determined by the treaty of June 15, 1846, was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who, on October 21, 1872, rendered his decision in writing, and to the following effect, as was announced by the President in a message to Congress: "This award confirms the United States in their claim on the important archipelago of the islands lying between the continent and Vancouver Island, which, for twenty-six years, since the ratification of the treaty of Great Britain, has been contested, and leaves us for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation without a question of disputed boundary between this territory and the possessions of Great Britain on this continent."

In December, 1871, the President sent a message to Congress on the subject of civil service reform, promising to adopt the suggestions of the report of the commissioners who had been appointed, and who recommended a variety of rules, whose main object was to secure for the civil service of the Government the services of such persons as were by experience and education best qualified. The chairman of the board, George William Curtis, resigned in March, 1872, because of grave differences of opinion between the President and himself as to the enforcement of the rules.

As President Grant's first term closed, and the question of his renomination came up, no little opposition was manifested. Many of the leaders of the Republican party, mostly able and brilliant men, were opposed to his policy and methods, some perhaps honestly, others from personal pique, or because his fame dominated theirs. Charles Sum-

ner, of Massachusetts, was chief of the opposition. He had opposed and with others defeated in the Senate Grant's wise scheme for the annexation of San Domingo. From his seat in the same body in May, 1872, he delivered a strong speech against the President, denouncing his administration, declaring that he had made a plaything and a perquisite of his high office, charging him with nepotism in the distribution of patronage, and asserting that he had conducted public affairs in a manner to secure his own renomination. He closed by appealing to the Republican party to select some other candidate, and to institute reform and purity in the administration of the Government.

Horace Greeley was also with the opposition. He had been advocating in the Tribune throughout Grant's administration a more liberal treatment of the Southern people, and especially the removal of political disqualifications imposed upon rebels. In Missouri, in 1870, the Republicans, then in control of the State Legislature, split upon this vexed question of the removal of these disabilities—the party in favor of such removal, led by Carl Schurz and Gratz Brown, called itself Liberal Republican; the other faction took the name of Radical or Stalwart Republicans. By a coalition of the former with the Democrats, Missouri was carried in their interest, although the administration lent its support and sympathy to the Radicals.

The next year the presidential nomination of 1872 was to be made, and the same thing was attempted in national politics. Horace Greeley was at the head of the new movement, and had the sup-

port and countenance of such men as Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Judge Trumbull, of Illinois, Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, Brown and Schurz, of Missouri, and many others equally bold and powerful. These men opposed the renomination of President Grant, and, foreseeing that he would be selected by the Republican Convention at Philadelphia (called for May 5 and 6, 1872), they held a convention of the Liberal Republican party in Cincinnati, on May 1, 1872, and there nominated an independent ticket—Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention, which met in Baltimore on June 9, 1872, was, after many bitter protests, induced to indorse the Cincinnati platform, and accept its candidate as its own. The Republican Convention at Philadelphia nominated Grant for a second term by acclamation. The President accepted the nomination in the following letter, dated Washington, June 10, 1872:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of this date, advising me of the action of the convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., on the 5th and 6th of this month, and of my unanimous nomination for the presidency, is received. I accept the nomination, and through you return my heartfelt thanks to your constituents for this mark of their confidence and support. If elected in November, and protected by a kind Providence in health and strength to perform the duties of the high trust conferred, I promise the same zeal and devotion to the good of the whole people for the future of my official life as shown in the past. Past experience may guide me in avoid-

ing mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations.

When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or next, I hope to leave to him, as Executive, a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity. With the expression of a desire to see a speedy healing of all bitterness of feeling between sections, parties, or races of citizens, and the time when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privilege to the humblest that it does to the most exalted, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, etc.

Grant and Wilson received two hundred and sixty-eight electoral votes against eighty for other candidates, Grant's plurality being 762,991. He was reinaugurated March 4, 1873, with Henry Wilson as Vice-President. In his second inaugural address the President used these words: "It is my firm conviction that the civilized world is tending to a reform of government by the people through their chosen representatives, and that our great republic is destined to be the guiding star to all others." And again: "The States lately at war with the General Government are now happily reunited, and no executive control is exercised in any one of them that would not be exercised in any other State under like circumstances. In the first year of the past administration, the proposition came up for the admission of San Domingo as a Territory of the Union. It was not of my seeking, but emanated from the people of San Domingo. I be-

lieved that it was best for the interests of all concerned that the proposition should be received favorably. It was, however, regarded unfavorably, and therefore the subject was never brought up by me again. In the future, while I hold my present office, the subject of the acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such acquisition. I say, however, that I do not share in the apprehension held by many as to the danger of the Government becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of its extension, but rather believe that our Great Ruler is preparing the world in his own good time to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required."

During the last session of the Forty-second Congress the salary of the President was increased from twenty-five to fifty thousand per annum, and those of the Vice-President, Speaker of the House, Justices of the Supreme Court and heads of departments twenty-five per cent. William M. Richardson, of Massachusetts, became Secretary of the Treasury March 4, 1873, and was succeeded, June 2, 1874, by Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky. On the death of Chief-Justice Chase, in 1873, President Grant nominated successively Caleb Cushing, George H. Williams, and Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, to be chief justices, the last named being promptly confirmed by the Senate, the two first having failed of confirmation.

No administration of later times has been more severely and perhaps more unjustly criticised than that of General Grant. Perhaps the worst which

can be honestly said of it was that, while he gained no unlawful profits himself, he did not restrain with a sufficiently firm hand those who were plundering the Government. His amiable weakness was a too implicit faith in those who succeeded in gaining his confidence, but to deny him ability as a statesman, and that he was only a soldier, or to assert that his administration was productive of little or no good to his country, would be both dishonest and unjust. There were grave difficulties in his way such as had assailed few, if any, of his predecessors.

The country had not then recovered from the demoralization caused by the civil war; the Fifteenth Amendment had not been ratified by the required number of States; then his accession to the presidency brought down upon him a formidable army of office seekers whom it was difficult to placate. In the South, bands of armed men united with lawless secret societies to defeat the ends of justice. The powers conferred upon him for the restoration of peace and order were, in the opinion of many jurists, of doubtful constitutionality. Party rancor was never more envenomed or excessive. An oppressive public debt weighed down the energies of the people. The nation's credit was being impaired by the wild schemes of repudiators and inflationists; the war had nearly swept our merchant marine from the seas, leaving still open disputes whose settlement required great wisdom and the astutest diplomatic skill. The Indians were threatening our frontiers, and their treatment was as vexed a question as ever assailed statesman or

philanthropist. Let us see how these grave problems were met and solved.

At the outset he declared that he would have no policy to enforce against the will of the people. His first inaugural address presented certain measures intended to strengthen the public credit, and which when formulated into a statute gave the world an official pledge of financial honesty. He recommended and used his influence to secure the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing for the readmission of all the States to the Union, and in the second year of his administration proclaimed its formal adoption. He recommended the refunding of the national debt, and signed an act authorizing the creation of bonds at four-per-cent interest, which were successfully negotiated. He urged measures for a restoration of our merchant marine and for a reform in the civil service, and, in the face of the opposition of some of his nearest and best friends, organized the first civil service board. By suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* where needed, and boldly bringing the leaders to justice, he suppressed lawlessness in the South, and compelled obedience to Federal authority. He inaugurated the principle of arbitration in international disputes, and by its use settled the Alabama Claims, the San Juan boundary question, and gained from Spain ample apologies and substantial reparation long withheld.

In his first message the President urged the Christianizing and civilizing of the Indians. His policy placed them on reservations, educated them, and sought to render them self-supporting and an

integral part of the nation. In the Franco-German War his proclamation so clearly defined American rights and duties toward both parties that we were able to escape all entanglements and complications on account of it. During the siege of Paris the protection of the American flag was extended by his instructions to all people without the protection of a flag of their own, thus preventing much suffering and loss. In the third year of his first term amnesty was proclaimed to those who had borne arms against the Government in the late war, and almost all their civil rights were restored. He vetoed the acts for the inflation of the currency, and thus saved the credit and honor of the nation. He urged the resumption of specie payments, and was largely responsible for the Resumption Act of 1875. He suppressed the formidable "Whisky Ring," pursuing and properly punishing the offenders.

While he was President the national debt was reduced over $450,000,000, taxes over $300,000,000, the balance of trade was changed from $130,000,000 against to $130,000,000 in our favor, the Atlantic and Pacific were united by a transcontinental railway, and reconstruction became an accomplished fact. As he had promised in his second letter of acceptance, he left a country at peace within its own borders, as well as with other nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity.

The time came for him to lay down the burden of his office. Many of his countrymen were desirous that he should accept a third term, but he pleasantly yet firmly refused, saying that it would prove

a bad precedent, and would be unwise both for himself and for the country.

In a private letter written three years later the general says: "In regard to your suggestion that I should authorize some one to say that in no event would I consent to ever being a candidate after 1880, I think any statement from me would be misconstrued. Such a statement might well be made after the nomination, if I am nominated in such a way as to accept. . . . I am so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, that I can not decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part. . . . All I desire is that the Government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled."

His second term expired March 4, 1877. In his farewell message he gave this admirable advice to the nation: That the States should be obliged to furnish a good common-school education to all, and that the attendance of children therein should be compulsory; that no sectarian creeds nor tenets should be taught in any school; that after the year 1890 no person unable to read and write should be allowed to vote; that Church and State should be declared forever separate and distinct, while the utmost freedom of worship should be secured to all; and that laws should be enacted to return to sound currency.

CHAPTER XIV.

TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

How to live with honor and dignity after leaving their exalted office is the problem with most of our retiring Presidents. A further public career is by custom denied to them. John Quincy Adams is, we believe, the only ex-President who has violated this unwritten law. In Grant's case he had resigned the position of general of the army to assume the presidency, and was now simply a private citizen. He decided to improve this opportunity to carry out a long-cherished desire of visiting the Old World, which he had not seen. His fame had spread throughout the world, and a reception such as would have been accorded to few, if any, reigning monarchs awaited him even in the remotest corners of the earth. The greatest of English journals, after announcing his proposed tour, gave a long and critical sketch of his career, in which it said: "On the whole, he will probably be one of those characters to whom the generous saying will be applied, 'He was a great man, and I have forgotten all his faults.' Nothing, at all events, but his virtues and his great achievements will be re-

membered when he visits this country. He will be welcomed as one of the most distinguished men whom the United States have yet produced, and he will attract to himself the hearty friendliness with which Englishmen regard the great representatives of their race in the New World."

The general sailed from Philadelphia May 17, 1877, accompanied by Mrs. Grant and his youngest son. The first land made was at Queenstown, where a deputation came to greet the distinguished visitor with cheers, and offered him the hospitalities of that town, declaring that the remotest hamlets in Ireland were familiar with his name, and would welcome him with the warmth and hospitality characteristic of the Irish people. The ex-President replied that he could not then accept their proffered hospitality, but that he would return and visit Ireland within a short period. As the steamer proceeded up the Mersey, and came in view of Liverpool, the entire seven miles of water front was seen to be gay with bunting and crowds of people intent upon welcoming the illustrious American.

The United States consul general at London with a deputation of merchants and others had sailed down the river in three tenders to meet and escort the Indiana to her dock. As she came near, the people on the piers, catching sight of the general as he stood upon the bridge with the captain, cheered heartily. When the party landed they were met by the mayor of Liverpool, members of the Common Council, and a deputation of merchants. The mayor delivered an address of welcome, to which the general briefly replied, and then the official

programme was fully carried out. His arrival and the ceremonies of welcome attending it were chronicled at length in all the British newspapers. All declared his visit to be one of international importance. "His name," said one, "is so closely interwoven with recent events in the history of the United States that not only in America but throughout Europe he is entitled to respectful treatment in a degree which it is the lot of but very few to command. It urges, therefore, free and generous receptions everywhere."

On May 30th the general and his party set out for London by the way of Manchester, passing the night at the latter city. Crowds gathered at every station and loudly cheered the party. At Manchester they were met by the mayor and aldermen, escorted about the city, and then to the new Townhall, where the distinguished visitor was received by the Dean of Manchester and other dignitaries, and an address of welcome from the mayor and corporation was presented in the drawing-room. At London the party was met by Edwards Pierrepont, the American Minister, on behalf of the United States and by Lord Vernon as the representative of the United Kingdom, the usual crowd surrounding the station and applauding. There was no time for speechmaking, however, and the party entered carriages and were driven to the residence of the American Minister, whose guests they were to be.

Two days later General Grant called on the Prince of Wales, and was invited to see the Epsom races in company with the Prince. On the evening of June 5th a reception was given him by the

American Minister, and the next day the general and Mrs. Grant dined in the Waterloo banqueting hall of Apsley House with the Duke of Wellington, eldest son of the illustrious "Iron Duke." On the 8th he paid a visit to the Agricultural Exhibition at Bath, and met with a most cordial reception; later he dined with the Duke of Devonshire, where he met about fifty members of the House of Lords and others. On the 15th one of the most highly prized distinctions of his visit was conferred on him —the freedom of the city of London. This was no common distinction, having never been conferred except on the most worthy and distinguished. The presentation to General Grant was a more than ordinarily interesting occasion.

At an early hour traffic was prohibited in the streets in the vicinity of the Guildhall, in order not to interfere with the free passage of carriages through King Street and the Old Jewry. Traffic was also suspended on the west as far as St. Martin's-le-Grand and St. Paul's, and on the east to the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, Lombard Street, King William, and Moorgate Streets. As Grant left his carriage at the Guildhall, he was received by a deputation of officials in gorgeous crimson robes, their gold chains of station glittering in the sun. Passing on through the corridor, where a company of City Guards and Yeomen presented arms, he was conducted into the library, and with characteristic composure walked toward the Lord Mayor's chair and took a seat on the left of the dais. The chamberlain then arose and read the formal address tendering the freedom of the city,

and which referred to the fact that he was the first President of the American Republic on whom that honor had been conferred.

At its close Grant arose and in a speech appropriate to the occasion returned thanks for the honor conferred, and then signed his name to the roll, with the clerk and chamberlain as compurgators. The party then partook of refreshments in the great banqueting hall, which was draped with English and American flags for the occasion. Toasts followed, the first being "The Queen," the second "The health of General Grant," which was drunk by the guests standing, amid hearty cheering. Speaking to the toast, the Lord Mayor said: "I, as chief magistrate of the city of London, and on the part of the corporation, offer you as hearty a welcome as the sincerity of language can convey. Your presence here as the late President of the United States is especially gratifying to all classes of the community, and we feel that, although this is your first visit to England, it is not a stranger that we greet, but a tried and honored friend. Twice occupying as you did the exalted position of President of the United States, and therefore one of the foremost representatives of that country, we confer honor upon ourselves by honoring you. Let me express both the hope and belief that when you take your departure you will feel that many true friends of yours, personally and also of your countrymen, have been left behind. I have the distinguished honor to propose your health. May you live long to enjoy the best of health and unqualified happiness."

The golden casket containing the freedom is a beautiful work of art, and was always highly prized by the general. It is oblong, in the *Cinquecento* style, the corners bearing American eagles, and richly decorated. The reverse bears a view of the entrance to the Guildhall and an appropriate inscription. At each end is a figure in gold, finely modeled and chased, one representing the city of London, the other the United States, and bearing the respective shields of each—the latter in enamel. The cover is surmounted by the arms of the city of London, and bears a cornucopia, emblematic of the fertility and resources of the United States. The casket is supported by American eagles modeled in gold, the whole standing on a velvet plinth decorated with the Stars and Stripes. This beautiful box is included among the many Grant memorials in the National Museum.

On the 18th the general was a guest of the Reform Club, where he met a distinguished company. On the 26th he was received by the Queen at Windsor Castle, the party, including Mrs. Grant and the American Minister, dining with the Queen and returning to London the following morning. The next evening a State concert was given at Buckingham Park, at which General and Mrs. Grant, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, and almost all the members of the royal family were present.

On July 5th he crossed over to the continent, going first to Brussels, where he received the honor of a visit from the King of Belgium, and later was invited to dine at the palace. Next morning all the

foreign ministers at the capital called to pay their respects, and on the 14th a grand reception was tendered him by the municipality in the Gesellschaftshaus of the Zoölogical Garden, the chief burgomaster presenting the guests. From Belgium General Grant passed through Switzerland, and thence into Italy, everywhere received with the greatest honor and friendliness. From Italy he returned to Edinburgh, where, among other marks of esteem, the freedom of the city was conferred upon him. Glasgow also bestowed upon him the same honor. Late in October he left London for Paris, at Folkstone taking the special yacht Victoria for Boulogne. When the party reached the French capital they were met at the station by the Marquis d'Abzac, first aid-de-camp of the President, who tendered General Grant a cordial welcome in the name of the French Republic. Many distinguished Americans and Frenchmen were also in waiting, and escorted the party to the Hotel Bristol, where apartments had been engaged for them.

During his stay in Paris the most eminent men of France were among his visitors. He was received at the Élysée by the President, Marshal McMahon, and later was invited to dine at the Élysée. After more than a month of dinners, receptions, balls, and banquetings, General Grant continued his tour of the world, going first to Naples in the United States steamer Vandalia, reaching that place on December 17th. The chief officials of the city paid their respects before the general left the ship. Then the party visited the city, and some of them, including the general, made the ascent of

Vesuvius. The next day they visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, the buried cities of the plain. In a few days the journey was continued to Egypt, the steamer calling at Malta on the way, where General Grant received a visit from the Duke of Edinburgh, and was the recipient of flattering hospitalities.

The party reached Alexandria on January 5, 1878. "Our reception was most enthusiastic," wrote one of the travelers. "The Vandalia had hardly anchored when the governor of the district, the admiral, and the generals, pashas, and beys, the consul general, Mr. Farman, the vice-consul, Mr. Salvage, Judges Barringer and Morgan, and the missionaries all came on board. The reception lasted an hour, and as each officer was saluted according to his rank, and the salutes were returned, there was smoke enough in the air for a naval engagement." After this the governor, in the name of the Khedive, welcomed the distinguished visitor to Egypt, placing at his disposal a palace in Cairo and a special steamer up the Nile. As it is Oriental etiquette to return calls promptly, the general and party paid their respects the same afternoon, landing in the official barge of the Vandalia, while the latter fired a salute of twenty-one guns, to which the Egyptian vessels responded.

At the palace a guard of honor received the party, and escorted them to a spacious chamber, where they were seated on a cushioned seat or divan, according to rank. The pasha offered the company cigarettes; an interchange of compliments followed, the pasha saying that Egypt was proud to welcome so illustrious a stranger, and the general

answering that he anticipated great pleasure in visiting Egypt. At a signal from the pasha slaves entered, bearing small porcelain cups about the size of an egg in filigree cases. They contained in this case not coffee, but a hot drink spiced with cinnamon. After drinking, the conversation continued in slow and dignified measure for five minutes, the pasha having the Oriental slowness of speech, and the general's proverbial reticence not being improved by the occasion. Then the party rose and filed slowly downstairs, the attendants and guards saluting, and the visit was over. At Cairo the general resided during his stay in the palace Kassul Doussa, placed at his disposal by the Khedive. Immediately on arriving, he paid a call of ceremony to the Khedive, who received him with every mark of esteem. Scarcely had the party returned to the palace when the carriage of the Khedive was announced, and the ruler of Egypt, accompanied by his Secretary for Foreign Affairs, entered, and was received in the grand saloon.

The general's journey up the Nile occupied one month, and was performed in a steam vessel placed at his disposal by the Khedive, under direction of officers of the latter's household. One of these was a German antiquary, Emile Brugsch, a director of the Egyptian Museum, whose learned and luminous accounts of the ruins and places of interest visited added greatly to the enjoyment of the party. Returning to Cairo, the travelers proceeded to Port Said, where the Vandalia was waiting for them. As soon as they were embarked she put to sea and ran over to Jaffa, reaching it on February 10th, and

introducing them to the Holy Land. At Jaffa, over the public street through which they must pass, was an archway of branches and flowers, bearing the inscription, "Welcome to General Grant." The party proceeded to Jerusalem, hoping to enter it unobserved, like any group of travelers; but the pasha had heard of their coming, and sent a small army of his servants to welcome them without the gates, and to present the pasha's pure white Arab steed in housings of gold for the general to ride when entering the Holy City.

Their *entrée* was by the ancient and historic gate that Tancred forced with his crusaders, under the walls of the Tower of David. The official ceremonies followed—the calling of the pasha in state, of the foreign consuls, and of the bishops and patriarchs, who blessed the general and his house. The pasha offered his guard and band of fifty pieces to accompany the visitors about the city, but the prospect was so appalling that it was declined with as much courtesy as possible to avoid giving offense. He then invited them to a state dinner, which all attended. After spending three days in Jerusalem, the party returned to Rome, visiting on the way Damascus, Beyroot, Smyrna, Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, and Syracuse.

In the Eternal City the same spontaneous ovations awaited him from all classes. King Humbert gave him a grand dinner, which was attended by all of his ministers, and at which toasts were drank to his health and speeches made in his praise. At Florence, Venice, Milan, and Genoa the customary welcome was extended. Thence the party returned

to Paris, where a month was spent, studying, among other things, the Paris Exposition, recently opened. From Paris the general went to Holland, where he received a warm welcome from the Dutch Government. Thence to the capital of Germany, the same distinguished honors awaiting him there. Prince Bismarck called twice in person, the general having been out at his first call, and later entertained him at dinner. The Crown Prince ordered a review of the army and a sham battle in his honor. The Emperor's health was in so precarious a state that his physicians forbade him the pleasure of receiving the visitor. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were next visited, the party proceeding by way of Hamburg, and being everywhere royally welcomed and entertained.

From Stockholm the route was by way of the Baltic to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the morning of July 30th. Prince Gortschakoff with other officials of the imperial court soon called, and in the name of the Czar welcomed him to Russia. On the following day the Emperor granted him an audience at Peterhof, the Versailles of Russia, fifteen miles from St. Petersburg, the imperial yacht conveying him thither. At the close of the interview the Emperor accompanied General Grant to the door, and as he took leave said, "Since the foundations of your Government the relations between Russia and America have been of the friendliest character, and as long as I live nothing shall be spared to continue the friendship."

After enjoying many other civilities from the Russians, he visited Austria, arriving at Vienna

on August 18th, the usual welcome and hospitality being extended by both Government and people. Thence he went to other Austrian towns and cities, returning to Paris September 25th; but the party soon left the French capital for a visit to the Pyrenees. At Bordeaux a message was received from the young King of Spain, inviting General Grant to visit Vitoria, where he was reviewing his troops. The general accepted, and journeyed on toward that town. At San Sebastian he was received with every mark of honor and esteem by Emilio Castelar, ex-President of the Spanish Republic. At Irun, on the frontier, he was met by one of Alfonso's generals, who welcomed him in the King's name, and placed his Majesty's special car at his disposal. Arriving at Vitoria, he was received by the King in his palace, and had a long conversation with the amiable young monarch. Thence proceeding to Madrid, Grant was welcomed by the civil authorities on behalf of the King.

The general next went to Lisbon, and was accorded an audience and a long conversation with the King of Portugal. After Lisbon his tour led through the Spanish cities and vales to Gibraltar, where he greatly enjoyed his visit to Lord Napier, of Magdala, thence to Dublin, to London, and to Marseilles, embarking there for Bombay *via* the Suez Canal, stopping only at Aden for the mails. No formal intelligence of their coming had been sent, and the party expected and perhaps hoped to disembark quietly and proceed to a hotel unrecognized, but the newspapers had heraled their coming, and as the Venetia entered the harbor they

found the shipping decked with flags and on the wharves a great company of natives, soldiers, and Europeans. As they passed the British flagship a boat pulled alongside, containing an officer, who welcomed the general to India in the name of Admiral Corbett, the commander of the fleet.

This visitor was quickly followed by an aid to Sir Richard Temple, Governor of the Presidency of Bombay, who bore a letter from the governor welcoming General Grant to Bombay, and tendering him the use of the Government House at Malabar Point during his stay—a courtesy which was accepted. The usual round of balls, receptions, and state dinners followed. His presence awakened the same enthusiasm in all the cities of India visited. At Calcutta the viceroy, Lord Lytton, gave a reception in his honor, introducing him to the native princes of rank. From India the party proceeded to China through the Straits of Malacca, stopping at Burmah and Siam.

It had not been the original intention to visit Siam, which was not on the direct route to China, but at Singapore the general was met by the American consul, Major Struder, with a letter from the King of Siam—a letter in an envelope of blue satin, and dated at the Grand Palace, Bangkok, February 4, 1879, in which his Majesty begged to express the pleasure he would have in making his acquaintance. "Possibly," it continued, "you may arrive at Bangkok during my absence at my country residence Bang Pa, in which case a steamer will be placed at your disposal to bring you to me. On arriving, I beg you to communicate with his excellency my

Minister for Foreign Affairs, who will arrange for your reception and entertainment."

Arriving off the bar at Paknam, they waited some time for the imperial yacht which was to convey them to the city. Early on the morning of the 15th of April she anchored near the steamer, "a long, stately craft with the American colors at the fore and the royal colors of Siam at the main." In the afternoon the general was rowed ashore in "a royal gondola seven fathoms long," and was received with kingly honors—a guard, a cavalry escort, a band, a salute of twenty-one guns, and carriages that bore himself and suite to the palace of Hwang Saranrom, which had been dedicated to their use during their visit to Siam. On the 19th the King gave a state dinner in honor of his guests. His Majesty wore the family decoration—a star of nine points, each point a rich jewel of different character, and the center a diamond of great value. All the Siamese guests were clad in court costumes. The banquet was served in the lower hall or dining room; the table service was of silver, the prevailing design being the three-headed elephant of the arms of Siam. There were forty guests at the dinner, the general occupying the seat of honor nearest the King, and the Celestial Prince escorting Mrs. Grant and seating her opposite his Majesty. The *menu* was an elaborate one, and served in European style.

After the dinner the King welcomed the general in an eulogistic address, to which the latter replied by proposing the health of the King. The latter then led the way to the upper audience chamber, or salon of the statues, where a long conversation

between the King and his guest ensued, while Mrs. Grant in an inner room enjoyed a *tête-à-tête* with the Queen, who had not been present at the banquet. In his conversation with the general the King became most cordial. He was proud to have met so distinguished a soldier, and wished to know more of the American people. He hoped they would always consider him a friend to their country, and when the general returned to his own land he desired him to write him a letter, to which he would reply, and so they would continue friends and correspondents. General Grant in reply said he should always remember his visit to Siam, that he would be glad to write to the King and hear from him in return, and if he could be of service to him or to his country it would give him great pleasure.

From Siam the party proceeded in the United States frigate Richmond to Canton, where the general was received with royal honors by the viceroy, and later was entertained at dinner by him. The party went in state, amid dense crowds and the firing of salutes to the vice-regal mansion, where the viceroy and his retinues were all in waiting, and were shown into the great audience chamber and offered tea. Then, after an interchange of compliments, a procession was formed and marched to the dining hall, which was a long distance from the audience chamber, and open on three sides to the gardens. "Around the open sides was a wall of servants, attendants, soldiers, and madarins, and if one looked beyond into the gardens, under the corruscating foliage burdened with variegated lanterns, he saw groups and lines all staring in upon

him." The *menu* was entirely Chinese, and also the table service, except the knives, forks, and glasses, which were of European manufacture.

After Canton the party visited Hong-Kong, Amoy, and Shanghai, at each place being received with the usual ceremonies of welcome. From Shanghai they proceeded to Tientsin and Peking, where the highest dignitaries of government, including the great statesman who last year visited the general's tomb, received them with every mark of honor and esteem. Grant did not ask nor expect an audience with the Emperor, who was a child seven years of age. From China the Richmond bore them to Japan—a country possessing peculiar interest for the general, since it had but recently been opened to the Western world. His reception was as gratifying as could have been desired. Soon after entering the port of Nagasaki the royal barge was seen approaching, bearing Prince Dati, one of the highest noblemen of Japan, Mr. Yoshida, who had been the Japanese Minister to the United States during General Grant's term, and the governor. They were received with due honors and escorted to the cabin, where Prince Dati said he had been commanded by the Emperor to welcome the general in the name of his Majesty, and to attend him as the personal representative of the Emperor as long as he should remain in the country.

This designation of a man so high in rank as the Prince was the highest compliment the Emperor could pay a guest. There were great crowds upon the quay to meet him as he landed, and he held an impromptu reception upon the platform, the

principal citizens of Nagasaki coming forward and being presented. As he went to the palace which had been prepared for him in the Japanese quarter, the road was arched with green boughs and flowers, and decked with American and Japanese flags intertwined. On each side it was lined with crowds of people, who made low obeisance to the party as they passed. The usual reception of officials, foreign consuls, and delegations, with *fetes* and dinners, followed. After Nagasaki they visited Yokohama, where the same ovations were accorded the general. One day they drove out to Tokio to pay the Emperor a visit. A lord in waiting came into the reception room of the palace where all the cabinet ministers and the party to be presented were in waiting. The general and Mrs. Grant, escorted by the American Minister, led, and the retinue followed. They proceeded along a short passage and entered another room, at the farther end of which the Emperor and Empress were standing, with two ladies in waiting near them in a sitting attitude. Two princesses standing were the only other occupants of the room. The party slowly advanced, the Japanese with profound obeisances, until it formed a group before the Emperor. The latter then advanced and shook hands with the general, a great innovation of established Japanese etiquette, then returned to his place and stood with his hand resting on his sword, looking upon the brilliant company as if unconscious of its presence. Mr. Bingham, our Minister, advanced and bowed, receiving but the slightest nod in recognition; the other members of the party as they were presented were re-

ceived in like manner. General and Mrs. Grant were then presented to the princesses, each bowing to the other in silence, after which the party withdrew.

On July 7th there was a grand review of the army by both the Emperor and the general, an event famous in Japanese annals. At an early hour the Emperor's state carriage came for the general, the review being appointed for nine o'clock. The latter entered, accompanied by Prince Dati, and, escorted by cavalry, proceeded to the parade ground —a large, open plain densely packed with a vast concourse of people, except a wide space reserved for the evolutions. There was a large tent for invited guests, and a smaller one reserved for the Emperor. General Grant was conducted to the smaller tent, where he was soon joined by his Majesty, and the review proceeded. Afterward he was invited to meet the Emperor at dinner in the Shila Palace, and by his Majesty's desire had a private and cordial conference with him.

Early in September Grant and his party bid their kind entertainers adieu, and embarked on the steamer City of Tokio for home. His fellow-countrymen had watched for sixteen months the general's tour around the world with the greatest interest and satisfaction. America was highly honored in the attentions bestowed on her illustrious son, and his visit to the nations of the East would aid greatly to strengthen the newly formed bonds of friendship between the Occident and the Orient. They determined, therefore, to give him at least as hearty a welcome on his return as he had received from foreign governments and peoples. The most

extensive preparations for his reception were made at San Francisco. On September 20th, about midday, the City of Tokio was sighted, and the fact was at once telegraphed to the city. The pealing of bells and thunder of cannon soon announced the event to the citizens, who for three days had been anxiously awaiting the arrival of General Grant.

A small steamer went out to the Tokio with the reception committee on board, meeting the vessel several miles distant, when the committee, hurrying on board, were conducted to the general. Almost at the same moment a Government steamer with General McDowell and his staff arrived, and they were soon on the steamer's deck, both parties welcoming the general home with cordial greetings. Meanwhile the committee of arrangements with several thousand invited guests had embarked on the large Pacific mail steamer China, and on a fleet of smaller steamers, and with the graceful craft of the San Francisco and Pacific yacht clubs in tow, steamed down the harbor.

At this time every building and eminence commanding a view of the harbor was black with people assembled to witness the pageant. The sun was low in the west as the welcoming fleet, gay with bunting, moved up the harbor. Every eye of the thousands on shore was strained to catch the first glimpse of the Tokio. At last a single gun from the earthworks above Fort Point announced that the steamer was nearing her docks. Fort Point soon joined in the welcoming salute, then Lime Point, and the batteries at Angel Island, Black Point, and Alcatras, until the whole channel was wreathed in

smoke from their guns. Out of this gloomy curtain the Tokio soon emerged, lighted by the red glow of sunset and the flashes of the guns, and surrounded by her attendant fleet of gayly bedecked vessels. Thus, amid the cheers of thousands, the great ship slowly rounded to her moorings, and the distinguished party was rowed to the landing place.

There a triumphal procession was formed, which conducted the honored guest to the Palace Hotel, the streets being as light as noonday with fireworks and illuminations. It was ten o'clock when the general's barouche was driven into the court of the hotel. As he alighted a way was opened for him through the dense throng, while a chorus of five hundred voices in one of the balconies sang an ode of welcome. After dinner, in response to repeated demands from the people, he appeared and made a brief address, and the crowds were induced to disperse. Receptions and banquets followed for many days. In a short time the general proceeded eastward, at all the cities and towns *en route* receiving the same spontaneous ovations, which culminated in that of December 15th, at Philadelphia, where his tour of the world began and where it ended. Later in the month General Grant continued his travels, visiting the Southern States, Mexico, and the West Indies, everywhere receiving the most earnest expressions of good will and respect.

The world in the broad circuit of the sun along which Grant traveled called him the first Captain of the age.

CHAPTER XV.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH A FRIEND.

PERHAPS no other person unconnected with the army contributed in so great a degree to Grant's success in the civil war as the Hon. E. B. Washburne (1816–'87), to whom the interesting letters and parts of letters were addressed that appear in this chapter. The correspondence, beginning in the summer of 1861, was continued uninterruptedly during a period of nineteen years. It is, however, from the earlier letters connected with the rebellion to which our extracts chiefly relate. In the last letter of the series, dated Galveston, Tex., March 25, 1880, the general writes: "It is a matter of supreme indifference to me whether I am nominated for the presidency or not, but I can not decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part. There are many persons I would prefer should have the office to myself." The following is the first of the war epistles addressed to Mr. Washburne:

CAIRO, ILL., *Sept. 3, 1861.*

Your very kind letter was received at Jefferson City, and would have been answered at once but for

the remark that you were about to start for New York city and would not receive it for some days. I should be most pleased to have you pay me the visit here, or wherever I may be, that you spoke of paying me there.

In regard to the appointment of Mr. Rawlins,* I never had an idea of withdrawing it so long as he felt disposed to accept, no matter how long his absence. Mr. Rawlins was the first one I decided upon for a place with me, and I very much regret that family affliction has kept him away so long. The past would have been a good school of instruction for him in his new duties; the future bids fair to try the backbone of our volunteers. I have been kept actively moving from one command to another, more so perhaps than any other officer. So long as I am of service to the cause of our country I do not object, however.

General Fremont has seen fit to intrust me with an important command here, my command embracing all the troops in southeast Missouri and at this place. A little difficulty of an unpleasant nature has occurred between General P. and myself relative to rank, he refusing to obey my orders; but it is to be hoped that he will see his error, and not sacrifice the interest of the cause to his ambition to be senior brigadier general of Illinois, as he contends he is.

In conclusion, Mr. Washburne, allow me to thank you for the part you have taken in giving me my present position. I think I see your hand in it, and admit that I had no personal claims for your kind office in the matter. I can assure you, however, my whole heart is in the cause which we are

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* John A. Rawlins (1831–'69) joined General Grant's staff in August, 1861, and served with him to the close of the rebellion. He became Secretary of War in March, 1869. Grant was greatly attached to him, and highly estimated his ability.

fighting for, and I pledge myself that, if equal to the task before me, you shall never have cause to regret the part you have taken.

FORT DONELSON, TENN., *Feb. 21, 1862.*

Since receiving your letter at Fort Henry events have transpired so rapidly that I have scarcely had time to write a private letter. That portion of your letter which required immediate attention was replied to as soon as your letter was read. I mean that I telegraphed Colonel C. C. Washburn,* Milwaukee, Wis., asking him to accept a place on my staff. As he has not yet arrived, I fear my dispatch was not received. Will you be kind enough to say to him that such a dispatch was sent, and that I will be most happy to publish the order the moment he arrives assigning him the position you ask.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th our volunteers fought a battle that would figure well with many of those fought in Europe, where large standing armies are maintained. I feel very grateful to you for having placed me in the position to have had the honor of commanding such an army and at such a time. I only trust that I have not nor will not disappoint you. The effect upon the community here is very marked since the battle. Defeat, disastrous defeat, is admitted. Yesterday I went to Clarkesville with a small escort, two of our gunboats having preceded me. Our forces now occupy that place, and will take possession of a large amount of commissary stores, ammunition, and some artillery. The road to Nashville is now clear, but whether my destination will be there or farther west can't yet be told. I want to move early, and no doubt will.

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* Cadwallader Colden Washburn (1818–'82), colonel Second Wisconsin Cavalry, October 10, 1861; brigadier general, July 16, 1862; and major general, November 29, 1862.

I wish to call your attention to General C. F. Smith. It is a pity that our service should lose so fine a soldier from a first command. If major generals are to be made, a better selection could not be made than to appoint Charles F. Smith.

SAVANNAH, TENN., *March 22, 1862.*

I have received two or three letters from you which I have not answered, because at the time they were received I was unwell and busy, and either your brother or Rowley were about writing. I am now getting nearly well and ready for any emergency that may arise. A severe contest may be looked for in this quarter before many weeks, but of the result feel no alarm.

There are some things which I wish to say to you in my own vindication, not that I care one straw for what is said individually, but because you have taken so much interest in my welfare that I think you are fairly entitled to all facts connected with my acts.

I see by the papers that I am charged with giving up a certain number of slaves captured at Fort Donelson. My published order on the occasion shows that citizens were not permitted to pass through our camps to look for their slaves. There were some six or seven negroes at Donelson, who represented that they had been brought from Kentucky to work for officers, and had been kept a number of months without receiving pay. They expressed great anxiety to get back to their families, and protested that they were free men. These I let go, and none others. I have studiously tried to prevent the running off of negroes from all outside places, as I have tried to prevent all other marauding and plundering.

So long as I hold a commission in the army I have no views of my own to carry out. Whatever may be the orders of my superiors and law I will

execute. No man can be efficient as a commander who sets his own notions above law and those whom he is sworn to obey. When Congress enacts anything too odious for me to execute, I will resign.

I see the credit of attacking the enemy by the way of the Tennessee and Cumberland is variously attributed. It is little to talk about it being the great wisdom of any general that first brought forth this plan of attack. Our gunboats were running up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers all fall and winter watching the progress of the rebels on these works. General Halleck no doubt thought of this route long ago, and I am sure I did. As to how the battles should be fought, both McClellan and Halleck are too much of soldiers to suppose that they can plan how that should be done at a distance. This would presuppose that the enemy would make just the moves laid down for them. It would be a game of chess, the right hand against the left, determining beforehand that the right should win. The job being an important one, neither of the above generals would have intrusted it to an officer who they had not confidence in. So far I was highly complimented by both.

After getting into Donelson General Halleck did not hear from me for near two weeks. It was about the same time before I heard from him. I was writing every day, and sometimes as often as three times a day. Reported every move and change, the condition of my troops, etc. Not getting these, General Halleck very justly became dissatisfied, and was, as I have since learned, sending me daily reprimands. Not receiving them, they lost their sting. When one did reach me, not seeing the justice of it, I retorted, and asked to be relieved. Three telegrams passed in this way, each time ending by my requesting to be relieved. All is now understood, however, and I feel assured that General Halleck is fully satisfied. In fact, he wrote me

a letter saying that I could not be relieved, and otherwise quite complimentary.

I will not tire you with a longer letter, but assure you again that you shall not be disappointed in me if it is in my power to prevent it.

CAMP NEAR CORINTH, MISS., *May 14, 1862.*

The great number of attacks made upon me by the press of the country is my apology for not writing to you oftener, not desiring to give any contradiction to them myself. You have interested yourself so much as my friend that should I say anything it would probably be made use of in my behalf. I would scorn being my own defender against such attacks except through the record which has been kept of all my official acts, and which can be examined at Washington at any time. To say that I have not been distressed at these attacks upon me would be false, for I have a father, mother, wife, and children who read them, and are distressed by them, and I necessarily share with them in it. Then, too, all subject to my orders read these charges, and it is calculated to weaken their confidence in me and weaken my ability to render efficient service in our present cause. One thing I will assure you of, however—I can not be driven from rendering the best service within my ability to suppress the present rebellion, and, when it is over, retiring to the same quiet it, the rebellion, found me enjoying. Notoriety has no charms for me, and could I render the same services that I hope it has been my fortune to render our just cause without being known in the matter, it would be infinitely preferable to me.

Those people who expect a field of battle to be maintained for a whole day with about thirty thousand troops, most of them entirely raw, against fifty thousand, as was the case at Pittsburg Landing while waiting for re-enforcements to come up, with-

out loss of life, know little of war. To have left the field of Pittsburg for the enemy to occupy until our force was sufficient to have gained a bloodless victory would have been to leave the Tennessee to become a second Potomac. There was nothing left for me but to occupy the west bank of the Tennessee and to hold it at all hazards. It would have set this war back six months to have failed, and would have caused the necessity of raising, as it were, a new army.

Looking back at the past, I can not see for the life of me any important point that could be corrected. Many persons who have visited the different fields of battle may have gone away displeased because they were not permitted to carry off horses, fine arms, or other valuables as trophies. But they are no patriots who would base their enmity on such grounds. Such, I assure you, are the grounds of many bitter words that have been said against me by persons who at this day would not know me by sight, yet profess to speak from a personal acquaintance.

I am sorry to write such a letter, infinitely sorry that there should be grounds for it. My own justification does not demand it, but you are entitled to know my feelings. As a friend I would be pleased to give you a record weekly at furthest of all that transpires in that portion of the army that I am or may be connected with, but not to make public use of. . . .

CAMP NEAR CORINTH, MISS., *June 1, 1862.*

Inclosed I send a letter addressed to the Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, which I would be pleased if you would cause to be delivered with any recommendation that you may deem proper. Lieutenant Dickey is the son of Colonel Dickey of the Fourth Illinois Cavalry, and brother-in-law of the late General W. H. L. Wallace, who fell at the battle

of Shiloh. Although Lieutenant Dickey has served under my command almost from his first entrance into service, I can not answer from personal knowledge as to his qualifications; but General Judah, who recommends him, is an experienced officer, and fully qualified to judge of his merits.

The siege of Corinth has at last terminated. On Friday morning it was found that the last rebel had left during the preceding night. On entering the enemy's intrenchments, it was discovered that they had succeeded in taking off or destroying nearly everything of value. General Pope is now in full pursuit of the retreating foe, and I think will succeed in capturing and dispersing many of them. There will be much unjust criticism of this affair, but future effects will prove it a great victory. Not being in command, however, I will not give a history of the battle in advance of official reports.

I leave here in a day or two for Covington, Ky., on a short leave of absence. I may write you again from there if I do not visit Washington in person.

CORINTH, MISS., *June 19, 1862.*

Your letter of the 8th inst., addressed to me at Covington, Ky., has just reached. At the time the one was written to which it is an answer I had leave to go home or to Covington, but General Halleck requested me to remain for a few days. Afterward when I spoke of going he asked that I should remain a little longer if my business was not of pressing importance. As I really had no business, and had not asked leave on such grounds, I told him so, and that if my services were required I would not go at all. This settled my leave for the present, and for the war, so long as my services are required I do not wish to leave. I am exceedingly obliged to you for the interest you have taken in the appointment recommended by me, and also for the assurances that the Secretary of War receives them

with such favor. I will endeavor never to make a recommendation unsafe to accede to.

I shall leave here on the 21st for Memphis, where my headquarters will be located for the time being. Fast western Tennessee is being reduced to working order, and I think, with the introduction of the mails, trade, and the assurance that we can hold it, it will become loyal or, at least, law-abiding. It will not do, however, for our arms to meet with any great reverse and still expect this result. The masses this day are more disloyal in the South from fear of what might befall them in case of defeat to the Union cause than from any dislike to the Government. One week to them (after giving in their adhesion to our laws) would be worse under the so-called Confederate Government than a year of martial law administered by this army. It is hard to say what would be the most wise policy to pursue toward these people, but for a soldier his duties are plain. He is to obey the orders of all those placed over him, and whip the enemy wherever he meets him. "If he can" should only be thought of after an unavoidable defeat. If you are acquainted with Senator Collamore, of Vermont, I would be pleased if you would say to him that there is a young colonel in the Eleventh Illinois Regiment, a native of his State, that I have taken a great interest in for his gallantry and worth. I mean Colonel Ransom.* He has now been wounded three times in separate engagements, but never showed a willingness to relinquish his command until the day was decided, and always declines a leave to recover from his wounds lest something should transpire in his absence.

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* Thomas E. G. Ransom (1834–'64), major Eleventh Illinois Infantry, July 30, 1861; colonel, February 15, 1862; and brigadier general, November 29, 1862. He was among the most gallant of our volunteer officers.

LA GRANGE, TENN., *Nov. 7, 1862.*

. . . . You will see by the papers that I am on the move. If troops are furnished me to keep open my lines of communication, there will be no delays in this department. Once at Grenada I can draw supplies from Memphis, and save our present very long line.

I do not see my report of the battle of Iuka in print. As the papers in General Rosecrans's interest have so much misrepresented that affair, I would like to see it in print. I have no objection to that or any other general being made a hero of by the press, but I do not want to see it at the expense of a meritorious portion of the army. I endeavored in that report to give a plain statement of facts, some of which I would never have mentioned had it not become necessary in defense of troops who have been with me in all, or nearly all, the battles where I have had the honor to command. I have never had a single regiment disgrace itself in battle yet, except some new ones at Shiloh that never loaded a musket before that battle. . . .

YOUNG'S POINT, MISS., *March 10, 1863.*

Now that Congress has adjourned, I have thought possible you might want to make a visit to this part of the country. I need not assure you that I would be most glad to see you here and have you stay during the contest, which will take place in the next thirty days from this writing. You will have time to join me if mails are prompt. The canal through would have been a success by to-day but for the great rise of water. The river is now several feet above the whole country hereabout, and our canal was dependent for its success upon keeping the water out of it. The upper dam has broken and submerged things generally. To stop this off will take a number of days, but we will do it. In the meantime, so far as I now know and

have official reports, the Yazoo Pass expedition is going to prove a perfect success. This is highly important if for no other purpose than to destroy the transportation and embryo gunboats the enemy had there. They have been working for one year on one boat of gigantic proportions up that stream.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, a young man of great merit, who has been put on General Hunter's staff, but who was on mine as a lieutenant, and I objected to relieving until the present campaign is over, writes to Rawlins in a private letter that our success in getting into Yazoo Pass is due to the energy of C. C. Washburn. He felt an interest in the enterprise and took hold with a will, and with men worthy of the object to be accomplished. I have ordered the army corps of McPherson through that way with additional forces, making him effective men to the number of about twenty-eight thousand. McPherson is one of my best men, and is fully to be trusted. Sherman stands in the same category. In these two men I have a host. They are worth more than a full brigade each. McPherson will effect a lodgment on the high lands on the Yazoo River east bank, and will co-operate with the troops from here. The class of transports adapted to the pass being so limited, some delay will necessarily take place in getting them to their destination. I have sent up the river for all the small class of boats that can be got.

We are going through a campaign here such as has not been heard of on this continent before. The soldiers see the position of the enemy in front of them, but I presume do not see how they are to attack. Their camp ground is several feet below water, held in its place by the levees. Constant rains falling keep the roads almost impassable. With all this the men are in good spirits, and feel confident of ultimate success.

The health of this command is a subject that

has been very much exaggerated by the press. I will venture the assertion that there is no army now in the field showing so large a proportion of those present with their commands being for duty. Really our troops are more healthy than could possibly have been expected with all their trials. Although I have told you but little of plans here, it is more than I am in the habit of writing on this subject. You will excuse me, therefore, from saying how I expect to co-operate with McPherson, at least until you come down. General Washburn will have command of a very important cavalry expedition from the Yazoo River if all other plans succeed. . . .

VICKSBURG, MISS., *Aug. 30, 1863.*

Your letter of the 8th of August, inclosing one from Senator Wilson to you, reached here during my temporary absence to the northern part of my command; hence my apparent delay in answering. I fully appreciate all Senator Wilson says. Had it not been for General Halleck and Dana, I think it altogether likely I would have been ordered to the Potomac. My going could do no possible good. They have there able officers who have been brought up with that army, and to import a commander to place over them certainly could produce no good. While I would not positively disobey an order, I would have objected most vehemently to taking that command or any other, except the one I have. I can do more with this army than it would be possible for me to do with any other without time to make the same acquaintance with others I have with this. I know that the soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee can be relied on to the fullest extent. I believe I know the exact capacity of every general in my command to lead troops, and just where to place them to get from them their best services. This is a matter of no small importance. . . .

The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stevens acknowledges the corner stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and can not be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South if we were to make peace to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an abolitionist, not even what could be called antislavery, but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind early in the rebellion that the North and South could never live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace re-established, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled.*

Rawlins and Maltby have been appointed brigadier generals. These are richly deserved promotions. Rawlins especially is no ordinary man. The fact is, had he started in this war in the line instead of in the staff, there is every probability he would be to-day one of our shining lights. As it is, he is better and more favorably known than probably any other officer in the army who has filled only staff appointments. Some men, too many of them, are only made by their staff appointments, while others give respectability to the position. Rawlins is of the latter class. . . .

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *Dec. 2, 1863.*

. . . . For the last three weeks I have not only been busy, but have had company occupying my room, making it almost impossible for me to write anything. Last week was a stirring time with us,

* Jasper A. Maltby (1826–'67), lieutenant colonel Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, August, 1861; colonel, November 29, 1862; and brigadier general, August 4, 1863.

and a magnificent victory was won. I am sorry you could not be here. The spectacle was grand beyond anything that has been or is likely to be on this continent. It is the first battlefield I have ever seen where a plan could be followed and from one place the whole field be within one view. At the commencement the battle line was fifteen miles long. Hooker on our right soon carried the point of Lookout Mountain, and Sherman the north end of Missionary Ridge, thus shortening the line by five or six miles and bringing the whole within one view. Our troops behaved most magnificently, and have inflicted on the enemy the heaviest blow they have received during the war. . . .

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *Dec. 12, 1863.*

All is well with me. Everything looks bright and favorable in this command. I feel under many obligations to you for the interest you have taken in my welfare. But recollect that I have been highly honored already by the Government, and do not ask or feel that I deserve anything more in the shape of honors or promotions. A success over the enemy is what I crave above everything else, and desire to hold such an influence over those under my command as to enable me to use them to the best advantage to secure this end.

COLD HARBOR, VA., *June 9, 1864*

Your two letters inclosing orders published by Major-General Washburn have been received. I highly approve the course he is taking, and am glad to see that General Slocum is pursuing a similar course about Vicksburg. I directed some days ago that the Sixteenth Corps staff should report to your brother. I recommend, however, that no commander be named for the Sixteenth Corps until Sherman is heard from, to know whether he would not prefer the consolidation of that portion of the Six-

teenth and Seventeenth Corps in the field into one corps, and that serving in garrison from these two corps into another. It makes but little difference, however, about this, for as soon as this campaign is over it is probable there will be a reconstruction of departments and commands.

. . . . Everything is progressing favorably but slowly. All the fight, except defensive and behind breastworks, is taken out of Lee's army. Unless my next move brings on a battle, the balance of the campaign will settle down to a siege. . . .

CITY POINT, VA., *July 23, 1864.*

Your letter of the 17th, inclosing one from General Scott, is just received. I inclose to you my answer to the general, which please forward to him. All are well here and buoyant and full of hope. I wish people North could be as hopeful as our troops who have to do the fighting are. I can not write you what I expect to do here. That Maryland raid upset my plans, but I will make an attempt to do something before many days. . . .

CITY POINT, VA., *Aug. 16, 1864.*

Your letter asking for autographs to send to Mrs. Adams, the wife of our Minister to England, was duly received. She had also sent to Mr. Dana for the same thing, and his requisition, he being with me at the time, was at once filled. I have directed Colonel Bowers to send with this a few of the original dispatches telegraphed from here. They have all been hastily written, and not with the expectation of ever being seen afterward, but will, I suppose, answer as well as anything else, or as if they had been written especially for the purpose of sending. . . .

I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North.

The rebels have now in their ranks their last men. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them can not be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is visible if we will but be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them re-enforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance.

I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope for a counter-revolution. They hope for the election of the peace candidate. In fact, like Micawber, they hope that something will turn up. Our peace, friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace allowing separation. To have peace "on any terms" the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

CITY POINT, VA., *Dec. 23, 1864.*

. . . . I see some objections are raised to Meade's confirmation as major general in the regular army. What the objections are I do not know, and can not therefore address myself to them. I am very sorry this should be so. General Meade is

one of our truest men and ablest officers. He has been constantly with that army, confronting the strongest, best-appointed, and most confident army in the South. He therefore has not had the same opportunity of winning laurels so distinctively marked as have fallen to the lot of other generals. But I defy any one to name a commander who could do more than he has done with the same chances. I am satisfied with a full knowledge of the man, what he has done, and the circumstances attending all his military acts, all objections would be removed. I wrote a letter to Senator Wilson to-day in his behalf which I hope will have some weight. If you can put in a word with some of the other Senators, particularly those who oppose his confirmation, and are willing to do it, I will feel much obliged.

CITY POINT, VA., *Jan. 24, 1865.*

Your letter announcing the completion of the medal * was duly received, and not answered because I expected to be in Washington about as early as a letter would get there. I did go, but not as early by a day or two as I expected, and then was in such haste that I saw no one out of the War and my own office. I can hardly say when I will be up again. Not for a week or two probably. I do not want the medal here, where there would be such danger of losing it. You can therefore keep it where you deem best until I am ready to take charge of it. . . .

We have had quite an exciting time here since 3 A. M. to-day. The heavy freshet we have been having the last few days has washed away some of our obstructions in the James. About that hour four of the enemy's gunboats started down the

* Presented to General Grant by Congress for the capture of Vicksburg and opening the Mississippi River from Cairo to the Gulf of Mexico.

river, and one or two of them actually passed the obstructions. Providence seemed to be on our side. Our navy certainly was not. Notwithstanding several days' notice had been given, not a single preparation seemed to have been made to receive such a visit. Fortunately, however, two of the enemy's boats grounded near the Howlett House, and those that had passed down turned back. Two of the enemy's boats were sunk and one disabled. The two aground were well pummeled for several hours, and must both of them been injured, though the report I get is: Two sunk, one disabled. This was all done from land batteries. The naval force left here is not adequate to the work with the obstructions removed. I hope, however, to have all right. We have all been very busy since the 3d, and will have all right before there is any let up.

WASHINGTON, *May 21, 1865.*

I have just received your letter of the 18th. It has never been my intention to give up Illinois as my home. The house in Philadelphia was presented to me, I believe, entirely by the Union League of that city. I was not aware the project was on the way until the money for the purchase was mostly subscribed, and then I did not know the parties interesting themselves in the matter. I had selected Philadelphia as a place for my family, where the children could have good schools and be near, so that I might see them whenever I had a leisure day.

It would look egotistical to make a parade in the papers about where I intend to claim as my home, but I will endeavor to be in Galena at the next election and vote there, and declare my intention of claiming that as my home and intention of never casting a vote elsewhere without first giving notice.

I feel very grateful to the citizens of Illinois generally, and to those of Jo Daviess County and

yourself in particular, for the uniform support I have received from that quarter. Without that support it would now matter but little where I might claim a residence. I might write a letter to Mr. Stuart,* chairman of the Christian Commission, and the most active member of the Union League of Philadelphia, in getting up the subscription for my house, stating what I owe to the State of Illinois, and that he and his friends must not think hard of me for holding on to Galena as my home.

I will hear from you again before doing anything in this matter. At present I am keeping house in Georgetown, and have my family with me. Neither they nor I will be in Philadelphia again, unless it be for a few days before fall.

GALENA, ILL., *Sept. 23, 1868.*

I am glad to see Congress found it expedient to adjourn without further legislation. I feared the effect of legislation at this time, and then, too, if Congress had remained in session it would prevent A. J. from taking his proposed trip to East Tennessee. I have as much affection for him as Frank Blair had for the "Fennigans," and would go just as far as Frank was willing to go to see him off, and would hold out every inducement to have him remain.

My time passes very pleasantly and quietly here, and I have determined to remain until some time after the October elections. I will aim to be in Washington a few, but a few, days before the November election. There is nothing particularly stirring going on here. A person would not know there was a canvass going on if it were not for the accounts we read in the papers of great gatherings all over the country.

* George Hay Stuart (1816–'90), an opulent merchant and philanthropist, of Philadelphia, who was twice offered a position in General Grant's Cabinet.

Please remember me to Mr. A. T. Stewart, Mr. Moses H. Grinnell, and Mr. William E. Dodge, who all have taken great interest in my welfare, even before they knew me personally. The same might be said of hosts of other New Yorkers, but the names of all can not be enumerated in a single letter.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 11, 1869.*

Your resignation of the office of Secretary of State, with reasons for the same, is received. In accepting it I do so with regret that your health will not permit you to continue in the office or in some Cabinet position.* Our personal relations have been, from the breaking out of the rebellion to the present day, and your support of me individually and of the army and its cause, such that no other idea presented itself stronger to my mind, in the first news of my election to the presidency, than that I should continue to have your advice and assistance. In parting with you, therefore, I do it with assurances of continued confidence in your ability, zeal, and friendship, and with the hope that you may soon be relieved from the physical disabilities under which you have labored for the last few years.

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* Mr. Washburne was soon after appointed by General Grant American representative to France, and in 1887 he published a valuable and interesting work in two volumes, entitled Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869–1877.

CHAPTER XVI.

HIS LAST DAYS AND DEATH.

In choosing a home, General Grant, after due deliberation, decided on the city of New York as the most desirable. Many of his old friends were residents of the metropolis, and two of his sons had entered into business there. Moreover, New York was the great center of events, and to one so widely known and so broad of view as General Grant, offered superior attractions, as it did to his friends Admiral Farragut and General Sherman. His home was a pleasant mansion—No. 3 Sixty-sixth Street, just east of Fifth Avenue, and near the Central Park. For his summer residence he selected a handsome cottage on the New Jersey coast, between Long Branch and Elberon, and within a convenient distance of the city.

Scarcely had he made these arrangements when the National Republican Convention of 1880 was held at Chicago. For President there were several candidates, the most prominent being General Grant and Senators Blaine, Edmunds, and Sherman. Grant was urged by Conkling and other friends to consent to being a candidate for a third term, with the

hope, if elected, of carrying out certain reforms and projects upon which he had set his heart. Greatest among these was Grant's desire to reconcile the North and South, which he believed he could soon accomplish, and that the solid South would speedily become a thing of the past. His decision many of the general's admirers deemed unfortunate. Unwise the student of his career must admit, for there is an unwritten law against any President filling a third term. It has never occurred in the history of the republic. It was said in the convention by an eminent speaker: "Grant can afford to regard the presidency as a broken toy. It would add nothing to his fame if he were again elected, and would add nothing to the debt of gratitude which the people feel they owe him. He is regarded universally as the hero of the war, and I think it was really his genius that almost gave us the victory. I do not think his reputation can ever be as great in any direction as in the direction of war. He has made his reputation, and has lived his great life." After a bitter contest, James A. Garfield, of Ohio, an able statesman and successful soldier, was nominated as a compromise candidate, with Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

The closing years of General Grant's life were embittered, and his reputation for a time clouded by the failure of the firm of Grant and Ward, in which he with one of his sons was a partner. By this entirely unexpected event he was financially ruined. According to the general's testimony in the Fish trial, given in his sick room in March, 1885, it was clearly shown that he was entirely ignorant of the

peculiar transactions of Fish and Ward in the Marine Bank and in the firm of Grant and Ward. It was owing to these financial difficulties that the general's incomparable Memoirs were written. He had, years before General Sherman's work appeared, decided to prepare his Military Memoirs, but his project was not executed, or even entered upon, until after his financial difficulties occurred. Then he began in earnest arranging the large amount of material which he had collected, and in preparing the four magazine articles, of which the first appeared in February, 1885.

In Congress, in 1884, the proposition to bestow a pension on General Grant was introduced, but this he firmly refused. He did, however, desire to be placed on the retired list, an honor befitting a soldier, and this desire, in 1885, Congress granted, the general even then being in the grasp of his fatal illness. The bill was signed by President Arthur a few minutes before his term of office expired, and the position accepted by General Grant by telegraph the same day.

Early in the summer of 1884 the general began to feel a slight pain in his mouth and throat, which increased and developed into cancer of the tongue—a painful and incurable disease. As he gradually grew weaker, the whole nation watched with solicitude the progress of his malady, and prayers were offered in many pulpits in the land for his recovery; day after day expressions of sympathy came not only from all quarters of our own country, but from distant lands. Old strifes and enmities were all forgotten in the presence of ap-

proaching death, and the Blue and the Gray alike uttered the warmest expressions of sympathy for the dying soldier. Early in the month of April there was a marked improvement in General Grant's condition, and, among some of his more sanguine friends, hopes were entertained and expressed of his ultimate recovery. Through the length and breadth of the land the morning and evening journals contained daily bulletins of one or more columns concerning the condition of the illustrious patient, and many of the leading papers of Great Britain and other lands published daily telegrams.

The writer called with a little birthday gift on Monday, April 27th, and spent half an hour or more with General Grant, who met him at the door of his library, and invited him to accompany him into his chamber, where they sat down in front of the fireplace, with Harrison, his faithful colored servant, seated out of sight, behind them. The general walked with the aid of a cane, and wore a small cap. His looks conveyed but little idea of his sickness and suffering, and he still weighed over one hundred and forty pounds. "What was your weight when in perfect health?" asked the writer. "Before my fall, from one hundred and ninety to one hundred and ninety-five pounds," the general replied; "and so I have lost from forty to fifty pounds. No," he continued, "I do not think I weighed more than one hundred and fifty pounds during the war. . . . Yes, I have met with several accidents," said the ex-President. "You remember I hurt my ankle and foot at Shiloh; then I was thrown from my horse near New Orleans in September, 1863, when

you were with me, and finally met with the fall from which I am still suffering;" adding, "My throat hurts me if I speak too much, so you must do some of the talking. . . . No, I have not worked on my book for a long time. I doubt whether I shall be able to go on with it again." And later he remarked: "The first volume is complete and in the hands of the printer, and I am at present receiving and reading the proofs. The second volume is also substantially finished. Much of it was dictated to a stenographer, as I found it fatigued me to write."

The writer was at General Grant's for an hour Monday afternoon, June 8th. While conversing with the family, his physician, Dr. Douglas, passed out, and soon after, to our surprise, the general came in, leaning heavily on his cane. He looked thinner and more haggard than when last seen, his voice being very husky and indistinct. He remarked that he had not been out for nearly a fortnight, and that he was afraid of taking cold. Indeed, he was then suffering much pain and discomfort owing to a cold. During his closing days his grandchildren gave him much pleasure, but his mind was absorbed with the one subject of his military autobiography and a desire to be accurate in the most minute particulars, and, above all, to render strict and impartial justice to every man who served under him. In all matters aside from his book Grant took but a slight and passing interest.

Fortunately his prayer was answered that he might be permitted to live to complete his Military Memoirs, which were substantially finished. It may be doubted if since the world began any book has

been written under similar conditions. It far surpasses Sir Walter Scott's gallant efforts to maintain the integrity of his character, that he might bequeath an untarnished name and a fantastic mansion to a long line of Scotts of Abbotsford. Seeing the last enemy approach, the dying but undaunted soldier, suffering almost constant, and at times the severest agony, determined to " fight it out " bravely as he did when he faced General Lee in the Wilderness struggle. This Grant did, to the general astonishment of publishers, physicians, family, and friends, the fruit of this great effort being a fortune for his family. It was probably the most successful expensive book ever issued—more than a quarter of million copies having been ordered in advance of publication, and nearly half a million of dollars having been received as copyright. In clearness and accuracy of statement, in literary style and finish, it compares favorably with the models of English literature.

The general, contrary to the expectations of his physicians and friends, survived to see the twentieth anniversary of the surrender of Lee's army, and to exchange greetings with his family on the return of the anniversary which may be said to have substantially broken the Confederacy and closed the four years' civil conflict. He survived to see the sun rise on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter and the commencement of the war, living also to see the anniversary of the death of President Lincoln, which, as has been elsewhere stated in this memoir, General Grant deemed the darkest day of his life. After more than a month's

confinement to his house, he recovered sufficiently to drive out in the park again on Monday, April 20th, and on the following day he was seen walking in Sixty-sixth Street with one of his sons. About this time he was able to resume his literary work by dictating to a secretary. He survived, as we have said, to celebrate his sixty-third birthday, and to complete substantially his military autobiography, by far the most valuable contribution yet made to the literature of the war. Owing to his increasing weakness and the warm weather, the date of his departure was anticipated by a week, and on June 16th, accompanied by his family, his physician, and attendants, he proceeded in a private car to Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, where a comfortable cottage was placed at the general's disposal for the summer by his friend, Joseph W. Drexel, of New York, by whom it was presented after Grant's death to the Grand Army of the Republic of New York.

From his mountain home on a spur of the Adirondacks General Grant could see at a glance the great theater of the many brilliant movements of Burgoyne's campaign—his marches, his defeats, and his surrender—and the stately monument which commemorates the historic field of the grounded arms—a spot consecrated by the genius of Fitz Greene Halleck, the last stanza of which for some unknown reason he suppressed. The omitted lines are as follows:

> Feelings as proud as were the Greek's of old,
> When in his country's hour of fame he stood,
> Happy and bold and free,
> Gazing on Marathon.

A few days before his departure from the city, when in a cheerful mood, the general said to a friend: "It is a great consolation to me in my sickness to know that the people, both North and South, are seemingly equally kind in their expressions of sympathy. Scores of letters come to me daily, without reference to politics or locality, containing kind words. Many communications are also received from public bodies. But nothing has touched me more deeply than the daily spectacle of the crowds of people gathering about my door for months, and eagerly seeking information as to my condition. Yes, I can certainly say that I tried to do my duty to my country, and I hope I have always treated those who were not on the same side with me, both in the field and in politics, with justice. The men of the South I always looked upon as citizens of our common country, and when it was in my power I always treated them as such. I can say with truth that I never, even in the midst of duty, had any other feeling than that which one citizen should feel toward another." The general also referred with much feeling to the many kind schemes projected in his behalf by friends in California and in other portions of the country.

The ex-President's prayer that the end would come soon was granted, but not before the wish nearest to his heart was gratified—that he should live to finish his book. After many temporary rallies and improvements and much physical suffering, borne in the spirit of Paul's grand text—"Endure hardness as a soldier"—surrounded by all those who were near and dear to him, the illustrious com-

mander passed away peacefully at eight minutes past eight on Thursday morning, July 23, 1885.

"Of course I am sorry to leave my family and friends; but I shall be glad to go," said the general some months before his death; and a few days later he remarked: "Yes, I have many friends here, and I have also many friends on the other side of the river who have crossed before me," adding, after a brief pause, "It is my wish that they may not have long to wait for me, but that the end will come soon." To another friend he said, when feeling better on Wednesday, April 15th, "Thrice have I been in the shadow of the valley of death, and thrice have I come out again;" and to a gentleman who on his last birthday quoted a few lines from Washington Irving, the sick soldier said, "How beautiful and how true!" The dying soldier's last written words were:

"*I hope no one will feel distressed on my account*"—

penciled but a few hours before his heroic spirit, "with touch as gentle as the morning light," was called away.

More than royal honors may be said to have been paid to his memory by the messages of condolence which came to Mrs. Grant from crowned heads and from distinguished personages of various countries and climes. It was the absorbing topic with the press and people of the United States during the period that elapsed between the time of the illustrious soldier's death and burial. Both at home and abroad he was universally recognized as the First Soldier and the First Citizen of the New

World. Against this compact consensus of opinion there was no discordant voice, even among the people against whom he wielded his mighty sword. The men of the South had only words of praise for their generous conqueror—praise as unstinted as that of Argyll, Bright, and Gladstone, and of his political adversaries of our own land. President Cleveland at once issued a proclamation eulogizing the dead hero, and ordering the Executive Mansion and the departments at Washington to be draped in black for thirty days as a mark of respect, and that all public business should be suspended on the day of the funeral. The army and navy were also ordered to recognize the event by displaying the national flag at half mast and by the firing of cannon and wearing of crape. The Governor of New York issued a proclamation directing that the public buildings of the State be draped in mourning, and that the flags be hung at half mast. Six days later a second proclamation was issued, setting apart Saturday, the day of the funeral, for such religious observance as might be appropriate for the burial of the distinguished dead.

Before his death General Grant expressed in writing a wish that he should be buried in one of three places—at West Point, where he received his education, in Illinois, where he resided for several years, or in New York, "because the people of that city befriended me in my need." New York, through its mayor, having proffered to Mrs. Grant a burial place in any of the city parks, a spot was selected and accepted in Riverside Park with the single condition that, in accordance with the general's de-

sire, his wife should hereafter be laid by his side. His preference would have been for West Point had he not been under the mistaken impression that Mrs. Grant could not be buried there.

A few days after the hero's death a large and influential committee, with ex-President Arthur as chairman, was appointed by the Mayor of New York to receive and collect funds for the erection of a national monument over General Grant's grave. Within a week of the inauguration of the movement, and before his burial, a sum of thirty thousand dollars was received by voluntary contributions. It was afterward increased to six hundred thousand dollars. Movements for other monuments throughout the country have been inaugurated, and several cities of the North already possess statues of the great soldier.

On Tuesday, August 4, a memorial service was held at Mount McGregor in the cottage where Grant died, and a funeral address was delivered. On the same day, and almost at the same hour, a similar service was held in Westminster Abbey, London. The exercises were very impressive, and the vast audience which crowded the ancient abbey gave evidence of sincere sorrow and reverence for the dead soldier. The present Dean of Canterbury delivered an eloquent discourse, classing General Grant with Lincoln as a statesman, and with Washington and Wellington as a strategist. Among those present were representatives of the Queen and the Prince of Wales, the commander in chief of the British Army, Mr. Gladstone, and hundreds of the most eminent statesmen and soldiers of England.

The remains of the ex-President arrived in Albany in the afternoon of the same day, and were received by the Governor. They were placed in the State Capitol, where they were seen by large numbers of citizens and people who came from the surrounding country to take their farewell view of his well-known face. On Wednesday afternoon, the 5th, the body of the great soldier arrived in New York and was escorted by an imposing body of troops to the City Hall. For three days it lay in state, and was viewed by nearly a quarter of a million of persons, including a large number of old soldiers who had served under him.

Saturday, August 8th, was the day appointed for his public funeral, the arrangements having been made by General Winfield S. Hancock. A more magnificent demonstration was never witnessed in the New World, attesting the nation's admiration and respect for the memory of the American soldier. It is supposed that at least a million and a half persons saw the procession. The streets of the city echoed to the tramp of thirty thousand soldiers and veterans who marched with measured tread to the solemn music of a hundred military bands. There were to be seen heroes of scores of battles, and the torn and tattered flags that waved over Shiloh, Vicksburg, the Wilderness, and other well-contested fields. Never but once before and once since in the history of New York have so large a number of armed men marched through its streets.*

* November 15, 1814, when the Iron Grays led a column of 28,000 troops from Fourteenth Street to the Battery. The veterans of the G. A. R. who were in the procession were unarmed.

It has been asserted with much plausibility that no man in history has been looked upon by as many eyes as General Grant—from the field, where he commanded more than a million of men, to the presidential chair for two terms, and then through a "royal progress" around the world, during which it has been estimated that he was seen by between six and seven million of people. It may be reasonably doubted if any illustrious man, and certainly no American except Lincoln, has been looked upon in death by so many sorrowing people as gazed upon Grant. And it may with reasonable certainty be believed that his tomb will for all time be a place of pilgrimage for his countrymen, and will be visited by larger numbers than the grave of any other great man, not excepting those of Napoleon and Nelson. Certainly, while his army comrades live, the spot that holds his earthly remains will be held sacred, and when they, with their "locks of gray," follow the now silent leader, their descendants will continue to cherish the hallowed ground, and on each returning Decoration

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The soldiers under arms numbered about 20,000. There were nearly 50,000 men in the column that marched to Grant's tomb on April 27, 1897, of whom about 30,000 were armed, and 10,000 were veterans who had followed his victorious banners. Among the Grant Municipal Committee of Two Hundred, appointed by the mayor to make arrangements for the ceremonial, were Generals Burnett, Butterfield, Christenson, Day, Dodge, Greene, Herron, Hubbard, McCook, McMahon, Molineux, Porter, Sharpe, Sickles, Sigel, Swayne, Webb, Wilson, and Woodford. Of Grant's Military Academy associates, who accepted the committee's invitation to be present, there were, among others, Generals Buckner, Franklin, French, Longstreet, Reynolds, and Schofield.

Representation of Medal issued in commemoration of the dedication of Grant's Tomb, April 27, 1897.

Day crown it with flowers, while they repeat the story of his marvelous career—a career more wonderful than that of almost any other heroic figure recorded in modern history.

It was nearly six hours after the funeral cortege left the City Hall that the catafalque, drawn by twenty-four horses, reached the grave on the banks of the historic Hudson, and was placed in the temporary tomb with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of his family, the President of the United States, his Cabinet, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, his pall-bearers, Generals Sherman and Sheridan of the Union armies, and Generals Johnston and Buckner of the Confederate service, with many of the most eminent men of the country. So, on that bright and sunny August afternoon, he was laid to rest.* As Sir Walter Scott's Edinburgh monument is the finest yet reared anywhere to the memory of a man of letters, so it is believed that the tomb formally dedicated with imposing ceremonial on Tuesday, April 27, 1897, is the grandest yet erected in the wide world to a soldier, surpassing even that which stands on the banks of the Seine, raised to the memory of the hero of Marengo. The situation of the poet's or the Emperor's monument can not for a moment be compared to the magnificent site of the American commander's tomb on the east bank of the beautiful Hudson.

The cruel irony of fate was never perhaps displayed in a more striking manner than in the clos-

* General Grant's remains were privately removed from their temporary resting place to the monument, under the supervision of his two eldest sons, on Saturday afternoon, April 17th.

ing years of General Grant's career. What a startling revolution in the whirligig of time! Within the brief space of nineteen months was witnessed, as we have seen, the occurrence in front of his door of an accident which lamed him for life. Five months later, when he believed he was worth a million of dollars, the ex-President was suddenly financially ruined. Eight months after this heavy stroke the old soldier was assailed with a malady which baffled all human skill, and within five months of the period when it was announced that he had a mortal disease, the end came, and

> He gave his honors to the world again,
> His blessed past to heaven, and slept in peace.

There is little further to add to what has been already related in these pages. Not only did all English-speaking people the world over lament the untimely close of the illustrious soldier's career, and share his glorious memory, but many persons of other nationalities who knew him personally during his foreign travels, or who were familiar with his great deeds in behalf of human freedom and established government.

From the many tributes to Grant's memory, and views of his lofty character and public services, we make room for several from contemporaries, who were fully competent to render correct and valuable judgments. When General Sherman was asked by the writer if he deemed Grant entitled to take rank next after Napoleon, Wellington, and Moltke as one of the four great soldiers of the nineteenth century, he replied, under date of June 26,

1885, "His rank will be very high in history, even higher than you place him." Lieutenant-General Sheridan, being requested to express his opinion of his former commander, said: "My judgment is that Grant was a far greater man than most people thought him to be. He was always able, no matter how situated, to do more than was expected of him. That has always been my opinion of General Grant, for whom I have the greatest admiration both as a man and as a commander." After relating the anecdote of Grant at the circus, given in the first chapter of this volume, Mr. Lincoln was asked who, in his opinion, was the greatest American general. He answered, "U. S. Grant." *

* Early in April, 1864, Lincoln said to one of his secretaries, who a score of years later wrote his biography (New York, 1884), in answer to an inquiry as to his opinion of Grant: "'I hardly know what to think of him. He is the quietest fellow you ever saw. Why, he makes the least fuss of any man I ever knew. I believe two or three times he has been in this room a minute or more before I knew that he was here. The only evidence that he is in any place is that he makes things go. Wherever he is they move.'

"'How about Grant's generalship? Is he going to be the man?'

"'Stoddard, Grant is the first one I've had. He *is* a general.'

"'How is that?' inquired the somewhat puzzled secretary.

"'Well, I'll tell you what I mean,' the President replied. "'You know how it has been with all the rest. As soon as I put a man in command of the Army of the Potomac he would come to me with a plan of campaign, and about as much as say, "Now, I don't believe I can do it, but if you say so I'll try it," and so he would throw the responsibility of success or failure on *me*. They all wanted *me* to be the general. Now, it is not so with Grant. He has not told me what his plans are. I don't know, and I don't want to know. I am glad to find a man that can go ahead

Within a few weeks of Grant's death a member of General Lee's staff said to a friend, who had mentioned Hancock's high opinion of his old chief: "That reminds me of Lee's opinion of your great Union general, uttered in my presence in reply to a disparaging remark on the part of a person who referred to Grant as a 'military accident, who had no distinguishing merit, but had achieved success through a combination of fortunate circumstances.' General Lee looked into the critic's eye steadily, and said: 'Sir, your opinion is a very poor compliment to me. We all thought Richmond, pro-

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without me. . . . You see, whenever any of the others set out on a campaign they would look over matters, and pick out some one thing they were short of, and which they knew I could not give them, and tell me they could not hope to win success unless they had that thing, and then when failure came they would lay the blame on that, and say "I told you so," and it was most generally *cavalry*.' Here Mr. Lincoln paused for one of his long, quiet, peculiar laughs, and went on with—

"'Now, when Grant took hold I was waiting to see what his pet impossibility would be; and I reckoned it would be cavalry, as a matter of course, for we hadn't horses enough to mount even the men we had. There were fifteen thousand or thereabout near Harper's Ferry and no horses to put them on. Well, the other day Grant sent to me about those very men, just as I expected; but what he wanted to know was whether he should make infantry of them or disband them. He did not ask me for what he knew I could not do. He does not ask impossibilities of me, and he is the first general that I have had that did not.' In our further conversation, I should add, the President did full justice to General Grant's predecessors, for whom, as all men know, he had the high regard and respect which were their due, but dwelt with a very manifest feeling of relief upon the fact that, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, he found the load of military responsibility taken from his shoulders."

tected as it was by our splendid fortifications and defended by our army of veterans, could not be taken. Yet Grant turned his face to our capital, and never turned it away until we had surrendered. Now, I have carefully searched the military records of both ancient and modern history, and have never found Grant's superior as a general. I doubt if his superior can be found in all history.'"

Grant's motto, like that of the hero of Waterloo, was *duty*. Nowhere in their writings does the word *glory* occur. "I will perform my duty to the best of my ability," is the almost identical statement made by the two great soldiers before the final successes achieved by them which were to crown them with everlasting renown. Unlike the great French captain, who was eternally talking and writing of *la gloire*, Wellington and Grant thought only of duty, which Gladstone defines as the power that rises with us in the morning, and goes to rest with us at night. It is co-extensive with the action of our intelligence. It is the shadow which cleaves to us, go where we will, and which only leaves us when we leave the light of life.

In the course of our narrative Grant has been compared to Washington and Wellington as a military commander. In his love of country, support of its laws, above all corrupt or interested views, with duty as the pole star by which he always steered his course, Grant more closely resembles the "Iron Duke" in personal and professional character than any other illustrious soldier. As Washington and Wellington won new laurels—the civic crown—after their swords were forever sheathed, by their

firmness, justice, and good judgment, may we not believe that history will hereafter record that General Grant achieved almost the same degree of glory as a statesman which he had previously won as a soldier—a soldier "Second to none," the motto of the famous cavalry regiment known as the Scotch Grays, in which several officers of Grant's name have won renown.

The same persistency displayed by the boy in riding the mule, and in loading, unaided, the wagon with logs for the construction of the Brown County Jail, were displayed at Fort Donelson, at Vicksburg, at Chattanooga, and during his last campaign against Lee's army, and at the Confederate capital. On the evening of that awful battle of the Wilderness, when the legions of the Union army had fought all day, rather by faith than sight, in the wild woods and tangled brush, an officer suggested to Grant that the army should fall back, as it had done under former leaders, and reorganize. "No, sir," replied the dauntless and intrepid soldier, "we have done very well; *at half-past four in the morning we move forward.*" It is believed that he was equally persistent as the President of the United States in his successful efforts to restore peace and prosperity to our long-suffering land, in re-establishing our free institutions on the impregnable foundations of liberty and justice, and in making one common country, in reality as in a name, United States of America.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARACTER AND PERSONAL TRAITS.

NATURE endowed General Grant with what Guizot calls the genius of common sense. Perhaps his most prominent traits were his persistence of purpose and action, his magnanimity and kindness of heart. As an American commander he has no equal. His sledge-hammer blows were given with all his strength, and he was always a fighter. He had the gravity of all great fighters. He was like the famous dog of which Dr. "Rab" Brown tells us: A Highland gamekeeper named Grant, when asked why a certain terrier of singular pluck was so much graver than the other dogs, said, "Oh, sir, life's full of sariousness to him—he just never can get enough o' fechtin'." Grant's unflinching courage was sublime, his stout heart never quailed under the most alarming conditions. He excelled in that coolness of judgment which Napoleon described as "the foremost quality in a general." He possessed a constantly increasing comprehension of grand strategy and the proper movements and care of vast armies extending over a front of

more than two thousand miles. He constantly pressed forward with indomitable will. To quote his own words, "I may say that I was a man of but one purpose—to put down the rebellion." From the time his services as colonel were accepted, soon after the conflagration of patriotism began in April, 1861, he never sought promotion. It was always fairly won by faithful service, and came to him unsolicited. "It is men," he said, "who wait to be selected, and not those who seek, from whom we may always expect the most efficient service." On another occasion he remarked: "Perhaps one reason why I received rapid promotion was that I never allowed myself to deviate from the path of duty—from doing the work that was assigned to me. My sole desire was to end the war and restore the Union. At its close I never aspired to any political office." Success in war, at least, is the test that can not be denied. Tried by that test, Grant is entitled to enduring renown. He succeeded where others failed. At Donelson he struck the keynote of victory. He then and there demonstrated the philosophy of the war in demanding "unconditional surrender." As the War Secretary said, these words moved the nation as if they had fallen from the Hebrew prophets.

In his Virginia campaign he achieved success where his five predecessors met with disastrous failure. They had wasted more than two years and one hundred and thirty-nine thousand men in futile attempts to reach Richmond. Grant captured that city and received the surrender of Lee's army in a

single campaign of eleven months, and with a loss of fifteen thousand less than had been wasted in unavailing efforts by McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade.* When his work was completed he hastened back to Washington without visiting the Confederate capital in order to stop immediately the enormous war expense, amounting to nearly four millions of dollars per day. It is inconceivable that a time will ever come when Grant's countrymen will not be profoundly interested in the great struggle for the perpetuity of the Union, in which he was the chief actor.

Like the illustrious Sully, who entertained sentiments in many respects far in advance of his age, Grant detested war, and looked with contempt at political systems which had not yet invented anything better than gunpowder for the arbitrament of international disputes. As Motley remarks of Sully: "Instead of war being an occasional method of obtaining peace, it pained him to think that peace seemed only a process for arriving at war. Surely it was no epigram in those days, but the simplest statement of commonplace fact, that war was the normal condition of Christians. Alas! will it be maintained that in the two and a half centuries which have elapsed the world has made much progress in a higher direction? Is there yet any

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or missing.	Aggregate.
* McClellan and others..	15,172	74,635	49,944	139,751
General Grant.....	15,139	77,748	31,503	124,390
Total.....	30,311	152,383	81,447	264,141

appeal among the most civilized nations except to the logic of the largest battalions and the eloquence of the greatest guns?"

A common error of mankind is to determine a man's greatness by his personal aspect. The prestige of physical excellence must vanish when we speak of Grant. He was the last man who would have been selected from a group of general officers as the greatest commander that the New World has produced. He was five feet eight inches in height, being taller than Napoleon, Nelson, Wellington, and Farragut. He was slightly round-shouldered, and never carried himself erect except when on horseback. His walk and appearance were unmilitary. He seldom buttoned his military coat, and his outward appearance gave an impression of carelessness; but it was a false impression, for Grant was among the most fastidious of men in the matter of cleanliness of person and of his underclothing. Any one who was careless in these particulars was likely to suffer in his estimation. His movements were usually deliberate, but if the occasion required haste and rapidity of movement, they were forthcoming. In the early period of the war his weight was about one hundred and thirty-five pounds; at its close he had gained fifteen pounds. He had a well-formed head, wearing a hat of seven and a half inches. His brow was high and broad, with a firm mouth, indicating an iron will, or, as Mr. Lincoln called it, "bulldog grit." His hair and full beard were a chestnut brown or tawny, and, after the first year of the war, were almost always kept neatly trimmed. On his right cheek he had a

small wart, just above the beard. His complexion was florid.

Grant's expressive eyes were blue. His countenance was rarely free from a certain anxious and careworn expression, but his temperament was naturally buoyant and cheerful. He enjoyed a hearty laugh, and would be so deeply moved with the mirth of an amusing anecdote that at times it was a matter of great difficulty for him to complete his story. He possessed a melodious voice, which he rarely raised even in the excitement of battle. He was lamentably deficient in a musical ear—in truth, he was almost tone deaf, disliking military bands and operatic music. Replying on one occasion to the question whether he went often to the opera, he said, "Never when I can help it." He did, however, enjoy in early life his wife's simple songs, and during the Western campaigns frequently listened with pleasure to the plantation melodies of "Old Shady" and other contrabands. His statement that he only knew two tunes—"One is 'Hail to the Chief,' and the other isn't"—was, of course, a pleasantry, which he probably originated early in the war, and carried through his campaigns as well as in later life, adapting it to circumstances. Grant possessed a good eye and memory for the topographical features of a country where he was campaigning. Sherman also was remarkable in this respect, which served him well in his Southern marches. He was a perfect horseman. One of his favorite chargers—called Cincinnati—was perhaps the most valuable war horse ever used in battle, being a son of Lexington and a half-brother of Kentucky, possess-

ing a record for speed almost equal to those celebrated thoroughbreds.* He was extremely fond of driving fast trotters, and greatly enjoyed an evening game of cards, also reading aloud to members of his family.

General Grant was most unwilling to speak unkindly of any one, even of those who for years pursued him with remorseless hatred. In regard to the ceaseless insinuations against his character, made by unscrupulous politicians and unsuccessful soldiers, or which were uttered over their dinner tables or in the streets, he spoke in a similar strain to William of Orange, who philosophically observed that "mankind were naturally inclined to calumny, particularly against those who exercised government over them." An eminent preacher, lately departed, in allusion to Grant's patience under the distressing trials of his closing years, remarked: "To dare is great. To bear is greater. Bravery we share with the brutes; fortitude with saints." He was fond of simple food, beef being almost the only meat that he liked, and that must be well cooked. The sight of blood in underdone meat would destroy his appetite. In at least one instance within the writer's knowledge it sent him from the mess table. The man who during the war was called a butcher could not bear to witness suffering, for at Shiloh the groans of the wounded drove him out from his log cabin—

* His other war steeds were Jack, which he rode in most of his battles, Fox, Kangaroo, Egypt, and Jeff Davis. The first named was given after the war to the Northwestern Fair, held in Chicago for the benefit of sick and disabled soldiers, and brought the sum of one thousand dollars.

the only shelter obtainable—and seated at the foot of a tree he secured a few hours' sleep in a heavy rainstorm. "When I was in the army," he said, "I had a physique that could stand anything. Whether I slept on the ground or in a tent, whether I slept one hour or ten in the twenty-four, whether I had one meal or three, or none, made no difference. I could lie down and sleep in the rain without caring." "I shall take no step backward," he said in the Wilderness when the Union army was dismayed by its heavy losses; and, having given orders to follow the enemy at daylight, he sought needed rest, and slept soundly for several hours. The age of chivalry is *not* gone when a victor could accord such terms to the vanquished as Grant freely gave to Lee and the remains of his gallant army at Appomattox. The student of military history will search in vain for anything comparable to it or to the delicacy with which the victor treated his beaten foes on that occasion. He was painfully modest and retiring in his manner, avoiding pomp and display, loving justice, eminently truthful, and never intentionally wronging any man.

Grant was single-minded as well as single-hearted, and possessed that rarest of intellectual gifts—an honest mind, which accepted without hesitation or personal treason the conclusions of its own judgment. He was not a scholar, but was familiar with good literature and with military history. His hero among ancient captains was Hannibal; among modern commanders, Cromwell. Concerning the latter, his friend Milton wrote a few lines, some of which appear peculiarly applicable to the subject of

this biography. "Wherefore," says the great poet, "you speak contemptibly of his great parts, I know not, but I suspect you are not free from the error common to studious and speculative men. Because Oliver was an ungraceful orator, and never said either in public or private anything memorable, you will have it that he was of mean capacity. Sure, this is unjust. Many men have been ignorant of letters, without wit, without eloquence, who yet had the wisdom to devise and the courage to perform that which they lacked the language to explain. Such men, often, in troubled times, have worked out the deliverance of nations and their own greatness, not by logic, but by wariness in success, by calmness in danger, by firm and stubborn resolution in all adversity. The hearts of men are their books, events are their tutors, great actions are their eloquence, and such an one, in my judgment, with his late highness. His own deeds shall avouch him for a great statesman, a great soldier, a true lover of his country, a merciful and generous conqueror."

Grant's writing, like his character, was the embodiment of directness. He sometimes lacked a word in conversation, but never when with pen in hand. Many of his most important dispatches were written hastily without premeditation, and sent off without the change of a single word. Such was the case with his terms granted to Lee, with his "unconditional surrender" letter to Buckner, and his celebrated dispatch, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." These two last were simply notes of information that he had certain important business in hand to which he designed giv-

ing his whole attention. Equally memorable are the words which followed in his acceptance, in 1868, of the Republican nomination for the presidency, "Let us have peace." On his deathbed, when no longer able to speak, Grant wrote: "I feel that we are on the eve of a new era, when there is to be great harmony between the Federals and Confederates. I can not stay to be a living witness to the correctness of this prophecy, but I feel it within me that it is to be so. The universally kind feeling expressed for me at a time when it was supposed that each day would prove my last, seems to me to be the beginning of the answer, 'Let us have peace.'" The magnificent tomb in the nation's metropolis, to which the hero's remains were removed a few days before the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth, bears on its granite front the appropriate legend, "Let us have peace."

Grant's temper was not perhaps so strong as Washington's, but, like him, he kept it well in hand. He never spoke impulsively, and seldom, if ever, was heard to utter a harsh word against any one. He was a good, if not a brilliant conversationalist. Some of his rifle-shot utterances are historic, and will not soon be forgotten. During the siege of Vicksburg a planter's wife appeared on her porch and tauntingly inquired of Grant when he expected to capture Vicksburg. "I can not tell the exact day," he replied, "but I shall stay until I do if it takes thirty years." The surrender followed in precisely thirty days. This is quite as good as Marshal McMahon's famous saying at the siege of Sebastopol, "*J'y suis et j'y reste.*" In June, 1862, Grant

said: "It is the business of a soldier to beat the enemy wherever and whenever he meets him. 'If he can,' should only be thought of after an unavoidable defeat." To Burnside, besieged in Knoxville by Longstreet in the autumn of 1863, Grant sent a communication, saying: "I can hardly conceive the necessity for retreating. If I did so at all, it would be after losing most of the army." When an officer rode up in haste and in the greatest excitement exclaimed, "General Grant, Lee is turning our right," with voice and manner calm as a summer morn, the dauntless soldier replied, "Very well, then I shall turn Lee's left." If Grant was ever justly angered, he was careful not to show it, and few discovered the fact. In thought, word, and deed he was perhaps the purest of our great men of this or any previous age. Never in the whole course of his life was he known to utter an unclean word, to relate an objectionable story or to listen to one, nor to use an oath or even a mild expletive. On the occasion of a large dinner party a person of distinction prefaced a story that he was about to relate by remarking, "I believe there are no ladies present." "No," calmly responded the general, "but there are gentlemen." The story remained untold. In all his domestic relations Grant was as near perfection as could be desired.

A great historian of our day tells us that when the hero of the battle of the Boyne died at Kensington Palace, at about eight in the morning, nearly two centuries ago, and his remains were laid out, it was found that he wore next his skin a small piece of black ribbon. The lords in waiting ordered it

to be taken off. It contained a plain gold wedding ring and a lock of the hair of his deceased wife, Queen Mary. After Grant's spirit took its flight at almost the same hour as the heroic English king's, there was found suspended around his neck a long braid of a woman's and child's hair intertwined. It was sent across a continent to the army captain by his young wife when he was serving on the far-distant Pacific coast. The affectionate husband and father had worn it for thirty-two years.

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